

THE WAY of LIFE SERIES

CHURCH HISTORY,
REFORMATION
and
MODERN

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACES	3
LESSON	
I Europe on the Eve of the Reformation	5
II Martin Luther and the Lutheran Reformation	12
III <u>Philip Melanchthon</u> and Huldreich Zwingli	19
IV John Calvin and the Reformed Churches	25
V The Radical Reformation: The Anabaptists	31
VI Conservative Reformations—The Church of England and the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation ..	37
VII Seventeenth Century England: The Puritans	43
VIII Religious Patterns in the U.S.A.	49
IX Rationalism and the Enlightenment	55
X Evangelical Movements of the Eighteenth Century ..	62
XI The Restoration Movement in America	68
XII Nineteenth Century Challenges to Traditional Biblical Faith	75
XIII Some Twentieth Century Developments	81

Lesson I

EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

*"That they should seek God, in the hope that they might
feel after him and find him."*

The Reformation was not caused by any of the general changes taking place in Europe, but its course was conditioned by them, both positively and negatively. It is important to remember the continuity between the late Middle Ages and the Reformation. The following are some of the more significant currents in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which in some way prepared for the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

The Search for Objectivity in Religion: Sacramentalism

Much of the religion of the day was a matter of fear and superstition. The late medieval doctrine of the "sacraments" placed the emphasis on the action performed and the words pronounced. The "grace" or benefit was bestowed without any reference to the morality of the minister or the faith of the recipient. Considering mere outward actions as objectively effective in conveying grace was an expression of the medieval conviction of God at work in an ordered world, yet it meant that externalism was threatening vital religion. The chief sacraments were the Mass, about which many superstitions had developed, and Penance, to which was attached the abuses of indulgences.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation (see Volume I, Lesson XIII) had enhanced the "miracle of the Mass". By repeating Jesus' words of institution at the Last Supper ("this is my body . . . this is my blood") the ordained priest supposedly effected a transformation of the bread and wine into the very

body and blood of Jesus. Each Mass was a distinct act of sacrifice and had a marketable value. The more Masses one had said, the more value to him or the more merit which could "balance the accounts" of souls in purgatory. Hence there were many "mass priests," unlearned men taught to repeat day after day the words of the Latin mass which they did not even understand.

The sacrament of penance had 4 parts: *contrition* (some theologians said only attrition was sufficient) for sins; *confession* to a priest; *absolution* pronounced by the priest; and *satisfaction* by good works. In theory the church imposed these satisfactions to teach the seriousness of sin and as a proof of repentance. Punishments in purgatory compensated for sins not satisfied by temporal penalties. Christ and his saints, however, had earned an unlimited "treasury of merits" which was at the disposal of the church and could be dispensed by the pope to cancel the temporal penalties. This practice was known as granting an indulgence, and was actually represented by a slip of paper that could be bought and sold. The indulgence was supposed to apply only to earthly penalties imposed by the Church. Yet it was easy for the common people to misunderstand the indulgence as giving actual forgiveness of sins, and when the Church was in need of funds the salesmen abetted this misunderstanding in order to promote the sale of indulgences. This unscrupulous practice later touched off the reformatory work of Luther and Zwingli.

The Search for the Subjective Experience of God: Mysticism

Countering the philosophical trend (noted in Vol. I, Lesson XIII) toward an arbitrary God of absolute will (Nominalism), and the sacramental trend toward an external objective religion, there began a search for a more immediate personal union with God. The goal of Mysticism is "absorption into the divine." There had been such tendencies toward personal piety earlier in the Middle Ages which are called mystical. But the

real flowering of Mysticism in Christianity came in the fourteenth century.

The Friends of God and the Brethren of the Common Life were among the mystical brotherhoods. The *Imitation of Christ* attributed to THOMAS A. KEMPIS and *The German Theology* were among the great devotional classics to be produced by those of the new devotion. MEISTER ECKHART (1260-1327) and John Tauler were two of the great practitioners and preachers of the mystical life. Most who followed this new piety did not break with the church nor lose sight of good works, but Mysticism made people less dependent upon the external forms of Catholicism and also less willing to be subject to ecclesiastical authority.

The Search for Intellectual Freedom: Renaissance Humanism

The rediscovery of the classical writings of Greece and Rome in the 14th and 15th centuries turned intellectual restlessness into new channels. Both man and the ancient charm of life became the center of interest. But most significant for religion was the concern to go back to the original documents as sources. Humanist scholars such as Lorenzo d'Valla exposed the falsity of documents such as the *Donation of Constantine* and *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*. The study of the original languages and the new editions of works of the early fathers helped to discredit the theological edifice built on the Latin Vulgate version of the Bible. The invention of moveable-type printing about 1450 contributed to the spread of the new learning. Although some Humanists were indifferent or hostile to Christianity, the leading Humanist scholar—ERASMUS (1466-1536)—had religious and moral interests. His most influential contribution was the first printed text of the Greek New Testament. He was interested in a return to the scriptures and to primitive Christianity, and he strongly satirized the religion of his day. However, Erasmus could not accept Luther's theology.

and considered division the greatest of sins. Hence, he never broke with the Roman church. Many of those who had a leading role in the Reformation were Humanist trained.

The Search for Representative Government of the Church: Conciliarism

From 1309 to 1377 the papacy had resided at Avignon, on the borders of France, and had been under the domination of the French kings ("the Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy"). On the return of one pope to Rome a schism resulted, with rival popes at Avignon and Rome, and Europe became divided in its allegiance. At one point three popes competed for the allegiance of Europe. This situation plus dissatisfaction over the drain on national revenues through papal taxation occasioned a movement to reform the church through representative councils. Councils at Pisa (1409), Constance (1414), and Basel (1431) did indeed heal the schism to the point of having only one pope but themselves proved so unwieldy as a means of governing the church that the papacy was able to reassert its preeminence. By restoring and strengthening the papacy the councils thus contributed to the failure of their own program of reform in church government.

The Search for Moral Reformation: Savonarola

The worldliness and corruption of the church reached its worst in the fifteenth century. The clergy often did not reside in their parishes, were worldly minded, and were reported to keep concubines. The need for a "reformation of the church in head and members" was widely recognized. Among the prophets of moral reform was SAVONAROLA of Florence (1452-1498), a fiery and dictatorial exponent of late medieval Catholic righteousness-by-works.

The Search for New Political and Social Patterns: Nationalism and Social Unrest

The national monarchies became sufficiently strong to ignore the pretensions of a universal empire or a universal church. The popes following Boniface VIII (1294-1303) were unable to impose their will in areas where the sovereigns could count on a resistance by the populace to outside pressures, even papal. It was thus as national spokesmen that Wyclif and Hus (see below) won their following. Eventually the independent policies of kings and princes were to determine the course of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

The rising middle classes of the towns and the discontent of the peasants called for new social patterns. These factors were to add to the disturbances of the sixteenth century.

John Wyclif (1320-1384)

Wyclif as the ablest theologian on the Oxford faculty was the spokesman for England's refusal to pay certain feudal taxes to the pope each year. He had powerful support from the nobles, and he represented the popular national resentment to papal interference in English affairs. In his doctrine of "lordship" he held that God is the great overlord who gives both civil and spiritual positions to be held on condition of faithful service. A bad churchman loses his rights, and his temporal possessions may be taken from him by the civil authorities.

Among his other doctrines should be noted these: the Scriptures are our sole authority by which abuses in the church are to be judged; the church is the total of the predestined, who belong to the invisible church, so that even the head of the visible church may be lost or indeed be the Antichrist; transubstantiation is a late invention, for the belief of the primitive church was that the body and blood were present only symbolically. In all these positions Wyclif anticipated certain Reformation doctrines,

Wyclif organized and sent out the "poor preachers" as itiner-

ant evangelists to preach the gospel to the common people. He was responsible for the first translation of the entire Scrip-
tures from the Latin into the English language. Although he was condemned by the pope and his movement was persecuted, Wyclif died a natural death. Thirty years later, however, his bones were exhumed, burned, and scattered on the Avon River. His followers were called "Lollards" and survived in England until the Reformation.

John Hus (1373-1415)

Wyclif's greatest influence was felt in Bohemia through John Hus' preaching in the language of the people. From his pulpit in Prague he pled for a reform of the clergy. He was soon charged with proclaiming the views of Wyclif, and his archbishop ordered all the writings of Wyclif burned. Hus was ordered to appear in Rome in order to clear himself of the charges. When he refused, he was excommunicated. With the support of the people Hus continued preaching and spoke out against the sale of indulgences. Prague was then placed under an interdict, and so for the sake of the people Hus went into exile, but continuing to spread his views.

The emperor Sigismund offered Hus a "safe conduct" to the council of Constance. On the view that the church did not have to keep faith with a heretic, however, Hus' enemies secured his condemnation and he was burned at the stake.

Bohemia rose in revolt, and despite military expeditions against them followers of Hus continued as a separate religious body until the Reformation. One branch, the Unitas Fratrum, later became known as the Moravian Brethren.

Supplementary Bibliography

James MacKinnon, *The Origins of the Reformation*. London: Longman, Green, & Co.

Review Questions

1. What was the late medieval doctrine of the sacraments? What were the two most important sacraments in the lives of the people?
2. What is the "miracle of the Mass"?
3. Define an indulgence.
4. What is Mysticism? Name some leading late medieval mystics. What classical devotional writings came out of Mysticism? How did Mysticism prepare for the Reformation?
5. What is the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy? What situation did the conciliarist movement seek to solve?
6. How is Humanism important for the background to the Reformation? What was Erasmus' contribution?
7. Who was Savonarola?
8. How did nationalism affect the medieval structure of church and society?
9. What were some of the doctrines of Wyclif which anticipated Reformed doctrines?
10. What country first rose in revolt against Catholic domination?

Thought Questions

1. Would you say that pre-Reformation Europe was in a state of religious complacency? What factors were a positive contribution to the Reformation? What were negative?
2. Catholicism in her history has shown remarkable adaptability to new situations. Why was she so tardy and unsuccessful in meeting the needs of late medieval civilization?
3. Ought a religious movement to be judged by its worst manifestations e.g. Catholicism by its abuses in the late Middle Ages?
4. Do you see things in Roman Catholicism which made the abuses of the late Middle Ages a natural development?

Lesson II

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

"The just shall live by faith"

Luther's Life (1483-1546)

Luther's pious and strict parents belonged to the free peasant class in Germany. They enrolled him in the University of Erfurt and destined him for the study of law. However, Luther, when struck down by lightning during a thunderstorm, vowed to become a monk. He renounced his law studies, to the disappointment of his parents and friends, and entered an Augustinian monastery.

Luther went through a course of theology and was ordained a priest in 1507. He pursued his studies to their culmination in a doctor of theology degree in 1512 from the University of Wittenberg, where he began to teach Biblical literature. He developed a strong preference for the theological views of Augustine. In the meantime (about 1510-11) he paid a visit to Rome. The secularism and immorality of the "Holy City" did not aid his spiritual growth.

Throughout his monastery experience Luther gave himself to a rigorous asceticism in an effort to save his soul. Convinced that every sin had to be confessed and satisfaction performed for it, he was driven by nagging fears of unconfessed sins and of a failure to do enough in the mortification of the flesh. He confessed his sins several times a day, even awakening his confessor in the middle of the night. The hardest command of all was to love God; but rather than loving God Luther found himself hating the God who made such demands.

One day during the winter of 1512-13 he came to the discovery of his doctrine of "justification by faith" as he meditated on Romans 1:16f. In his later university lectures on the

Psalms and Romans he elaborated the concept that man is not saved by the merit of good works, but by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to those who trust in him. Luther thus rediscovered the Biblical God of grace and the New Testament teaching on faith, as contrasted with the "works-righteousness" for which he had been striving.

Luther became a practical reformer when in 1517 he nailed to the church door the Ninety-Five Theses, a challenge to debate, attacking the practice of indulgences, especially as reached by John Tetzel. The Dominicans came to Tetzel's defense. Luther's chief opponent was John Maier of Eck, professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt. The pope at first regarded the affair as only a monk's quarrel, but finally cited Luther to appear before Cardinal Cajetan. This occurred at Augsburg in October, 1518, at which time Luther refused to recant unless he could be proved to be wrong from the Scriptures. Eck then challenged Luther to debate at Leipzig, and in the discussion he cleverly forced Luther to deny the authority of the pope and the general councils.

Armed with these admissions, Eck was able to secure a papal bull in 1520 condemning Luther's teachings. Luther's break with the papacy was symbolized by the public burning of the bull along with a copy of the canon law on December 10, 1520. Already during that year Luther had issued three great reform treatises: *Address to the German Nobility*; *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*; and the *Freedom of a Christian Man*. These treatises reflect the Luther who becomes the hero of the Reformation, on account of their classic statement of the basic affirmations of the Reform.

In January, 1521, Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther and called upon the newly elected Emperor CHARLES V (1500-1558) of the Holy Roman Empire to prosecute him. Charles V, however, allowed himself to be influenced by Elector Frederick of Saxony, Luther's prince and a great admirer of Luther as

the leading teacher at his university in Wittenberg, to permit Luther to defend himself before the Diet of the German nobility meeting at Worms. On April 18, 1521, in response to a demand to renounce his writings, he launched a speech asking to be shown his errors from Scripture or reason, affirming his conscience to be bound by the Word of God. "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise."

Placed under the ban of the empire, Luther then was hidden by Frederick at the castle of Wartburg where, assisted by Melanchthon, he made his translation of the Bible into German. This became a great contribution to the spread of the Reformation. Luther moved cautiously in the reform of worship and organization of the church, and he tied his program somewhat closely to the desires of the princes who supported him. The nobles in Lutheran lands took over the role of bishops.

In the years 1524-1526 occurred three events which separated the Lutheran Reformation from other movements which at first had been sympathetic with Luther: (1) Luther's controversy with Erasmus on the freedom of the will caused many Humanists to desert Luther; (2) Luther's conservatism in keeping many non-scriptural customs from the past which he judged as "not forbidden by Scripture" caused those desiring a more thoroughgoing reform to follow their own course (Lesson V); (3) Luther's strong reaction against the Peasants' Revolt tied his movement to the nobles at the expense of the underprivileged classes.

At the Diet of 1526 Luther's supporters were strong enough to get a resolution passed that the enforcement of the edict against Luther should be left up to the individual princes. In 1529 the Catholics secured a reversal of this decision and also a decree that no more religious innovations be introduced. The minority "protest" against this development gave the name "Protestant" to the evangelical party.

Luther was less successful in organizing the Reform than he had been in igniting and inspiring revolt. In order to give some organization and discipline to his movement, Luther largely turned the direction of the churches over to the princes. One of the darkest blots on his career was his secret sanction of the bigamous marriage of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. Luther remained the great authority and leader of the German reformation in spite of increasingly poor health until his death.

Luther's Thought

Luther accepted the idea of human depravity as taught by Augustine. The consequence of this inherited depravity was the bondage of the will. Without divine grace man may not choose the good in relation to God. Predestination was the answer to the question why some have faith and others do not. Luther did not start from predestination and reason to faith; rather he started with faith and the religious premise that man cannot save himself and concluded that only predestination accounts for faith. Hence, unlike later Calvinist formulations, predestination was a purely religious premise to account for the presence of faith in some people. It was based on the desire to do away with all human merit and give all the credit for salvation to God.

The righteousness of God for Luther was not the negative punishment of the unrighteous sinner but the positive justification of man "by faith alone." This faith was a work of God, not of man. Once God has infused faith into man and imputed righteousness to him, man can do good works. Good works thus follow as a result but do not precede as a condition of salvation.

The authority of the Scriptures for Luther was found in their witness to Christ and to the doctrine of justification by faith. The Scriptures contain Law (God's demands) and Gospel (God's gracious promises): this distinction cuts across

both Testaments. The Gospel is of the greatest importance, hence James can be called a "strawy epistle" in comparison with Paul's writings because it teaches Law instead of Gospel, without it being denied as being a part of the word of God.

The priesthood of all believers was made central by Luther. This concept for him meant that all Christians can hear confession, pray for one another, and grant forgiveness.

All callings in life are sacred, and the clergy differ from the laity only in that the former are selected to perform certain tasks for the good order of the church. One of the great principles of the Reformation was that one can serve God as well (or better) in his daily occupation or in the home as he can in the ministry.

According to Luther the real body and blood of Christ are present in the Supper, "joined with" the actual bread and wine, a view called consubstantiation. Baptism brings about a forgiveness of "original sin." Luther's insistence on faith in connection with the sacraments gave him real trouble in the understanding of infant baptism. In order to defend the traditional practice he finally had to argue for "infantile faith," the meaning of which has never been very clear.

- ❖ For Luther, the State is ordained by God, and Christians are to obey it without resistance. The Lutheran teaching on the State has been so strong and the Lutheran church has been tied so closely to the secular rulers that Lutheranism in Germany has often been subservient even to anti-Christian rulers.

Luther's Influence

Some of Luther's greatest contributions were practical: the German Bible greatly influenced the development of the German language; his catechisms shaped the religious education of many generations; congregational hymn singing proved to

be a powerful force in the piety of Lutherans; his marriage to the former nun, Katharine von Bora (Luther gave as his reasons for marrying that it would please his parents, displease the pope, and seal his confession), made his home the pattern for the Protestant parsonage.

The Peace of Augsburg in 1555 established the principle, *cujus regio, ejus religio* ("whose the region, his the religion"), thus dividing Germany into Catholic and Lutheran states. The Lutheran princes were largely in northern Germany, whereas southern Germany tended to be more loyal to Catholicism.

The Scandinavian countries, largely as a matter of politics, also embraced the Lutheran Reformation with the result that all of northern Europe became lost to Roman Catholicism.

Supplementary Bibliography

Martin Luther, *Three Reformation Treatises*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
For this lesson and the succeeding lessons, see R. H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the 16th Century*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Review Questions

1. Give the dates for Luther's life.
2. What were some of the formative influences in Luther's religious development?
3. Had Luther achieved his fundamental religious insights before the indulgence controversy? What significance then did the latter have for the Reformation?
4. Name the three Reformation treatises of 1520.
5. What is the importance of the years 1524-1526 for the Reformation in Germany?
6. How did the Reformation cause acquire the name "Protestant"?
7. What role did the princes play in the Lutheran Reform?
8. What "Father" of the ancient Church was most influential on Luther's thought?
9. Explain Luther's views on original sin and predestination.
10. What is meant by "consubstantiation"?
11. What was the attitude of Luther toward the Scriptures?
12. What was Luther's attitude toward the secular rulers?
13. List some of Luther's practical contributions to Protestantism?
14. What was the significance of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555?
15. In what countries did the Lutheran reformation take hold?

Thought Questions

1. What are some Biblical insights recovered by Luther?
2. In what respects does Luther fail to recover important Biblical teachings? How was he influenced by his times in these failures?
3. What is our permanent debt to Luther?

Lesson III

PHILIP MELANCHTHON AND HULDREICH ZWINGLI

"There is a time for war, and a time for peace"

Melanchthon (1497-1560)

Melanchthon's pious family background and humanist education opened his eyes to abuses in the church. His mother was a niece of the celebrated Hebrew scholar, Reuchlin, who influenced his education. Melanchthon was primarily a scholar. By the age of 17 he had his Master of Arts degree; he wrote and spoke Greek and Latin better than his native German; at 21 he published a Greek grammar. His ability was recognized by the humanist scholar Erasmus.

Boy
W/ Nde

In 1518 Melanchthon went to Wittenberg as professor of Greek. Luther and Melanchthon were early attracted to each other and worked together for reform. The differences in their personalities complemented each other. Melanchthon was the superior scholar; Luther the superior preacher. Luther was stormy and aggressive; Melanchthon was quiet and peaceful. Luther could say, "I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests; but Master Philip comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him."

Melanchthon made quite a mark as a teacher. As the Reformation progressed he was called upon to reorganize the educational system in Germany to replace the previously Roman and monastic centered education. Through this work he left a lasting imprint on German schools.

In 1521 Melanchthon published the reformation's first system of theology, the *Loci Communes*. This work was expanded in later editions. It represented the systematization of Lu-

ther's reform ideas and as such was influential in the development of Lutheran dogma. In 1530 Melanchthon drafted the Augsburg Confession, a statement of the German reformers' doctrinal position presented to the Catholic emperor as a basis for discussion. Although the Confession is conciliatory in tone, it states clearly the main points of opposition to Rome—justification by faith, the authority of Scriptures, and the rejection of medieval doctrines and superstitions. This document is still the doctrinal standard acknowledged by all Lutheran bodies. Melanchthon's *Apology for the Augsburg Confession* is one of the great writings of the Reformation.

In later life Melanchthon took such a mediating position, especially on points in dispute with the "Calvinist" reformation (Lesson IV), that he aroused considerable opposition among Lutherans. Melanchthon did not break openly with Luther while the latter lived, although he formed a great admiration for Calvin, and Luther defended Melanchthon against those who were suspicious that he was not as dogmatically rigid as they would like. After Luther's death many controversies which had been smoldering but had been held in check by the force of Luther's leadership now broke into flame. Melanchthon was involved in many of these. Melanchthon especially had come to differ from Luther on the following points: (1) Melanchthon accepted a "co-operation of the human will" with the divine will in conversion in contrast to Luther's bondage of the will; (2) he stressed the spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's supper as was held by Calvin in contrast to the literal presence of Luther's consubstantiation; (3) he taught the necessity of good works as fruits of faith in a more explicit way than Luther's "faith only" sometimes seemed to allow.

The majority of Lutherans did not acknowledge Melanchthon's leadership after the death of Luther and resisted any union with the Calvinists or modification in Luther's thought. The orthodox settlement of Lutheran controversies came

with the Formula of Concord in 1580, representing the viewpoint of the majority of rigid Lutherans in Germany (hence the term "Concordia Lutheranism" for its more conservative branches). This agreement affirmed the authority of Scripture as interpreted by the Augsburg Confession, Luther's *Catechism*, and certain other confessional statements. There followed a period of "Lutheran scholasticism" in which the main lines of Lutheran doctrines were dogmatically fixed and the theologians went to work refining the small points and throwing up bulwarks against competing systems of interpretation.

Melanchthon's disposition may be summed up in this statement, "Will there be no end to this controversy? If only God would give us the grace to teach only those things in the church which serve to build, rather than those things that stir up hate and division." Melanchthon was a man of peace in an age of controversy.

Zwingli (1484-1531)

Zwingli brought a warlike disposition to his problems. Switzerland, although nominally a part of the empire, was divided into thirteen allied cantons which were more or less self-governing. The Swiss were in great demand as hired soldiers, and the moral problems raised by this mercenary system were a great challenge to the church in Switzerland.

Zwingli was educated in the new Humanist learning and received his Master's degree in 1506. As a parish priest in Glarus he taught himself Greek. His opposition to the use of Swiss troops as mercenaries (except by the Pope, a viewpoint which called him to the favorable attention of the Papacy) necessitated his leaving the town. At the small village of Einsiedeln he won fame as a preacher to the many pilgrims to its shrine of the Virgin. He continued his studies, and when the sale of indulgences was pushed in his district he spoke out in opposition.

In 1519 Zwingli was appointed preacher at the church in Zurich. He began an orderly exposition of the books of the New Testament in which he pointed out the abuses of the church. Although he had read some of Luther's writings, he claimed independence for his own thought, except that Luther had helped him find the courage to speak out more openly for his convictions. When his life was spared in a plague that struck the city, he believed that God had given approval to his ministry. With deepened religious conviction he led a final break with the Roman church in 1522 in connection with a controversy over the observance of the Lenten fast. Zwingli considered that every practice not expressly commanded in the New Testament should be abolished, and thus a more radical reformation began than Luther had launched in Germany. In worship, for instance, all relics, altars, candles, clerical robes, organs, and choirs were removed, and the walls of the churches were whitewashed. In 1524 Zwingli completed his defiance of the Roman church by marrying the widow Anna Reinhart. Zwingli, with approval of his friends, had treated her as his wife in some sense for several years. Prior to that Zwingli (as also many other priests) had shown a shocking laxity in private life in relations with young women in his parishes.

Zwingli believed that the support of the political authority was necessary to establish his reform. He was backed by the Town Council and was unwilling to go further in reform than the civil authorities were prepared to go. A series of debates from 1523 to 1525 on authority, the Mass, images, and baptism established Zwingli's authority. From Zurich his reform spread to other cantons in Switzerland. The militant patriotism of Zwingli was shown in his dying with the troops of Zurich while fighting a Catholic invasion.

When peace was restored, each canton was given the right to decide its own religious beliefs. Zwingli was succeeded at Zurich by his son-in-law HEINRICH BULLINGER (1504-1575).

The Bible was the authority for Zwingli, not because it contains the Gospel of God's forgiving love in Christ (as for Luther), but because it reveals the will of God. What is not specifically commanded was wrong for Zwingli. However, Zwingli on some points, for example in regard to infant baptism, was caused by expediency either to be inconsistent or to fail to see the implications of his own premises. His stress on the sovereignty of God led to a rigorous doctrine of predestination, which in turn meant a doctrine of "the invisible church." Between the invisible church of the elect, comprising righteous heathens as well as Christians, and the visible church made up of professing Christians and their children there is no necessary connection. There was little place for the efficacy of the sacraments: baptism can be administered to children because it is only a sign of God's covenant, and the Lord's Supper is only a memorial in which public testimony to one's adherence to the church is given. Zwingli insisted on the symbolic interpretation of Jesus' words "This is my body," and at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 the failure of Luther (who insisted on a literal understanding of Jesus' words) and Zwingli to agree on their doctrine of the Lord's Supper prevented a union of the German and Swiss reformations.

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Lesson IV

JOHN CALVIN AND THE REFORMED CHURCHES

"Those whom he predestined he also called"

Calvin's Life (1509-1564)

Calvin was a second-generation reformer. His work was that of systematization (he produced the clearest theological system of the Reformation), organization (he encouraged a definite form of church organization), and internationalization (his ideas spread over a wider geographical area than did those of other Reformers) of the reform.

Calvin was destined from childhood by his father for the priesthood, and he studied the classics at the University of Paris in preparation for taking holy orders. When his father was excommunicated from the church over an administrative affair, the father changed the son to the study of law. After the father's death, Calvin returned to his interest in religion. While moving in the circles of Catholic Humanists Calvin met some evangelicals and became interested in reform ideas.

Following a "conversion experience" of which he has left us no details (unlike Luther) Calvin became active in propagating reform ideas. When his activities were discovered, he fled from Paris. At Protestant Basel he published in 1536 the first edition of his Institutes of the Christian Religion as a defense of the French Protestants addressed to King Francis I. The Institutes went through considerable enlargement in successive editions until 1559, but the basic viewpoints of the work remained the same. Already the first edition brought fame to Calvin and the work became recognized as the greatest of the systematic theologies of the Reformation. It was marked by logic of thought and clarity of style.

William Farel invited Calvin to Geneva to aid him in the

Review Questions

1. How much younger was Melanchthon than Luther?
2. Contrast the two associates at Wittenberg, Luther and Melanchthon, in training, religious experiences, and temperament.
3. List Melanchthon's contributions to the Reformation.
4. On what points did Melanchthon differ from Luther?
5. What is the significance of the *Formula of Concord* for Lutheranism?
6. Which enjoys the greater prestige among all Lutherans, the *Augsburg Confession* or the *Formula of Concord*?
7. How does Zwingli's age compare with Luther's?
8. Compare and contrast Luther and Zwingli in moral earnestness, education, religious experiences, and approach to doctrine.
9. What difference of view between Luther and Zwingli kept their two branches of the Reformation apart? When was this difference dramatized?
10. What were Zwingli's teachings on the following subjects: the church, predestination, the sacraments?
11. What similarity was there between Zwingli and Luther in the connection between their reforms and the civil authority?
12. Who succeeded Zwingli as the leading figure in the Reformation of the German speaking part of Switzerland?

Thought Questions

1. On what points does Zwingli differ from Luther? Agree?
2. Do you find yourself more in agreement with Melanchthon or with Luther on those points where Melanchthon differed from his associate?
3. Zwingli's view of the Lord's Supper has been described as "bare symbolism." Is this an adequate expression of the New Testament doctrine of the Supper? Is there any other significance attached to the Lord's Supper in the New Testament besides the memorial aspect?

reform of the city. A controversy with the city council over whether the council or the pastors would determine the religious policies of the city led Calvin to flee to Strassburg. There he was befriended by MARTIN BUCER (1491-1551), from whom he learned much. Calvin looked to a period of quiet in which he could give himself to scholarly pursuits. Such was not fulfilled, for he was invited to become the pastor of a church of French refugees.

The failure of anyone to be able to hold the situation together in Geneva led to repeated invitations for Calvin to return. He finally yielded to these pleas, when his conditions were granted. Calvin, although never ordained, nor holding any official position in the city, but exercising a strong influence as a teacher, turned Geneva into the international center of the Reformation and the model of a reformed city. He mastered all opposition—the blackest mark on his career being the burning at the stake of the anti-Trinitarian trouble-maker MICHAEL SERVETUS.

Calvin's Thought

The center of Calvin's theology was the sovereignty of God. The key to true knowledge for him is the knowledge of God as Creator and Redeemer. Everyone has some knowledge of God—idolatry is a proof of this. But the only adequate knowledge of God is that which comes through the special revelation of the Scriptures. The God Calvin finds in the Scriptures is one who ordains everything which happens.

The fall of man has obscured his knowledge of God. Worse than that, the fall left man completely incapable of the good. This pessimistic view of man is part of Calvin's doctrine of original sin. Man is unable to attain to the saving knowledge of God or to respond to God's will. Adam's fall came through pride. The root of sin is found in the will rather than in some outward act. This definition of sin as spiritual in origin leaves the problem of the transmission of original sin to Adam's de-

scendants. Augustine, to whom Calvin as well as Luther was much indebted, had made sexual generation the means of such transmission. Calvin did not follow this explanation, but it remained for his followers to develop an alternative theory. (Among the Puritans it was held that Adam as the "federal" or "covenant" head of the human race involved all his descendants in that which he did as their representative.) Each person was regarded as guilty for personally participating in Adam's transgression. While the infant has not yet produced fruits of his own unrighteousness, the seed of sin is implanted in him and he deserves condemnation from a God who allows no impurity in his presence. Since the fall has corrupted the power to discern good and evil and the power to choose the one or the other, the will is not free to move the slightest toward the good without God's grace.

Human merit and human works are entirely discounted in order that the power of God may be exalted. God by his eternal and immutable counsel determined once and for all those whom it was his pleasure one day to admit to salvation and those whom it was his pleasure to doom to destruction. Predestination does not rest on foreknowledge; God's foreknowledge is his predestination. Predestination is an eternal decree given before the foundation of the world. Election to salvation is founded on God's free mercy, without any respect to human worth. Calvin denied the right of reason to judge this doctrine, because reason was involved in the fall. Whatever God does is just, simply because God is God. The damnation of sinners demonstrates God's justice—they deserve punishment; the salvation of the elect demonstrates God's mercy—they are saved without any respect to human merit. All is to the absolute glory of God. He can do no wrong.

The visible church may be identified by the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. The church is necessary as an external help appointed by God as the means for bringing to perfection his covenant people.

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There is a fourfold ministry in the church—pastors, elders, teachers, and deacons. Calvin held to the equality of pastors (preaching elders) and elders (ruling elders) and hence he instituted a presbyterian (plurality of overseers) as opposed to an episcopal (a single head) system of church government.

The sacraments have two parts—a word and a sign. They convey grace to the elect, but they are not essential to salvation because the promise, of which they are the seal, may be enjoyed without the sacrament, through the word alone. In effect Calvin thus practically makes preaching of the word a sacrament; hence the prominence of the pulpit in reformed church architecture. Baptism is given, as was circumcision in the Old Testament, as a sign that one is within God's covenant. It may be bestowed on children of Christians, therefore, because (on the analogy of the old covenant) the children are included in the covenant with the parents. The faith which is necessary for the benefits of baptism may as well follow the act as precede it. On the Lord's Supper, Calvin taught a spiritual presence of Christ over against the bare memorial of Zwingli and the bodily presence of Luther. Calvin favored weekly communion, but his doctrine permitted his followers to be content with less frequent observance.

Calvin took matters of church organization and church independence of the state more as matters of principle than Luther did. He sought to order the whole of life by Biblical teachings. Calvin did not have a principle of "levels" in the Bible as Luther did, and he left to his followers a concern that what is not authorized in the Bible is forbidden. Hence, the Calvinist tradition has shown a concern for matters of church polity (government) and an interest in a literal scriptural pattern which some other branches of Christendom have not had.

Calvin's Influence

Calvin knew the value of the written as well as the

preached word. Extensive and learned commentaries on the Scriptures as well as his many other works in addition to his *Institutes* shaped the Biblical study, piety, and theology of many who never met him. Calvin also knew the value of education. The school system of Geneva became a pattern in many reformed countries. The teaching of Calvin and his associates attracted many to Geneva. Moreover, many refugees from other countries found a haven in Geneva. As these people later returned to their homelands they carried the teachings of Calvin with them.

Calvin gave his followers a reason and basis for transforming society according to a divine standard. His influence largely absorbed the earlier reforming work of Zwingli in Switzerland and of his associates in south Germany. Calvin's influence was also great in France, Holland, Scotland, and Hungary. Those churches which carry "Reformed" in their name are Calvinist in their doctrine and church organization, as are the "Presbyterian" churches of the English speaking world.

The Opposition to Calvinism

JACOBUS ARMINIUS (1560-1609) became the theological spokesman of a party in the Netherlands which opposed some of the distinctive tenets of Calvin. Arminius taught that election is "in Christ." Predestination to salvation is based on God's foreknowledge of those who by grace would believe and persevere "in Christ." Hence, the name "Arminian" (not very accurately) has been given to all those who reject the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. The position of the followers of Arminius, stated in the *Remonstrance of 1610*, was rejected by the Calvinist synod of Dort, 1619. The teachings of Arminius were well received in England and especially through the influence of John Wesley, have had a prominent place in many later religious bodies.

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Review Questions

1. What in summary was Calvin's contribution to the Reformation?
2. What was the great literary work of Calvin? At what age was its first edition published? What was its initial purpose?
3. At what city did Calvin do his greatest work?
4. What doctrine forms the center of Calvin's theology?
5. What is Calvin's doctrine of man?
6. Define predestination.
7. Distinguish the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist doctrines on the Lord's Supper.
8. Describe the church organization outlined by Calvin.
9. In what countries were the reformed churches the heirs of Calvin?
10. What were some of the things that gave Calvin his great influence as an international reformer?
11. Who is an "Arminian"?
12. Identify the *Remonstrance* of 1610.

Thought Questions

1. What is the Biblical doctrine of election?
2. At what points in American Protestantism do you see the Calvinist heritage?
3. What appears to be the place of learning and education in the lives of the leading reformers and in the influence they exerted?

Lesson V

Review Questions

1. How much younger was Melanchthon than Luther?
2. Contrast the two associates at Wittenberg, Luther and Melanchthon, in training, religious experiences, and temperament.
3. List Melanchthon's contributions to the Reformation.
4. On what points did Melanchthon differ from Luther?
5. What is the significance of the *Formula of Concord* for Lutheranism?
6. Which enjoys the greater prestige among all Lutherans, the *Augsburg Confession* or the *Formula of Concord*?
7. How does Zwingli's age compare with Luther's?
8. Compare and contrast Luther and Zwingli in moral earnestness, education, religious experiences, and approach to doctrine.
9. What difference of view between Luther and Zwingli kept their two branches of the Reformation apart? When was this difference dramatized?
10. What were Zwingli's teachings on the following subjects: the church, predestination, the sacraments?
11. What similarity was there between Zwingli and Luther in the connection between their reforms and the civil authority?
12. Who succeeded Zwingli as the leading figure in the Reformation of the German speaking part of Switzerland?

Thought Questions

1. On what points does Zwingli differ from Luther? Agree?
2. Do you find yourself more in agreement with Melanchthon or with Luther on those points where Melanchthon differed from his associate?
3. Zwingli's view of the Lord's Supper has been described as "bare symbolism." Is this an adequate expression of the New Testament doctrine of the Supper? Is there any other significance attached to the Lord's Supper in the New Testament besides the memorial aspect?

THE RADICAL REFORMATION: THE ANABAPTISTS

"*Make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them*"

The Beginnings

Diverse roots have been suggested for the Anabaptist movement, and many factors must have influenced the development. One of the important influences determinative for the character of the movement was the contact of the common people with the New Testament in the Reformation era.

Various movements have been grouped together under the general heading of the "Radical Reformation." Rationalism in the form of antitrinitarianism was represented by FAUSTUS SOCINUS (1539-1604), who from Italy finally labored in Poland and gave his name (Socinianism) to one of the roots of modern Unitarianism. Millennialism and mysticism were present at Strassburg where Melchior Hoffman and Hans Denck preached for a time. Socialism and militarism characterized the work of the "Zwickau Prophets" (Thomas Muentzer and Nicholas Storch) and contributed to the Peasants' Revolt (Lesson II). ANDREAS VON CARL-STADT, an associate of Luther at Wittenburg, attempted a more radical reformation, but Luther's conservative policies prevailed. Radicalism reached its peak when Anabaptists (see below), especially those predicting the immediate return of Christ, gained control of the city of Muenster (1533-35). Catholic authorities sought to recapture the city. Leadership in Muenster was seized by extremists who, in the dire circumstances of the siege, instituted communism and polygamy. When the revolt was crushed, punishment was severe and the bad name attaching to the episode came to be shared by all Anabaptists.

It is not to these sources but to the Biblicalism at Zurich (CONRAD GREBEL, Felix Manz, George Blaurock, BAL-

THASAR HUBMAIER) that one must look in order to find the beginnings of the main stream of Anabaptism. Unfortunately few people made any effort to distinguish between the different strands of those calling for radical reform, and thus the whole movement shared the reproach heaped upon the extremists. They were all viewed as social and political revolutionaries, a threat to the traditional fabric of society, or as "spiritualists" who denied any objective authority. However, our interest here will be confined to those whose "radical reformation" was toward the remaking of the church after the pattern of the New Testament.

Discontent over the failure of Luther and Zwingli to go as far as many desired in a thorough Biblical restoration of the church of the New Testament led to a separation between "radicals" and the classical Reformers. The debates in the City Council at Zurich, 1523-1525, provided the occasion of this separation in the forces of the Swiss Reformation. In conflict were two different views of the church: Zwingli was committed to a state church and the Anabaptists sought a church of gathered believers, a "church of the great commission." Infant baptism was the most obvious dividing line between the two systems. When the Zurich brethren were banished, they inaugurated believers' baptism. Others had questioned infant baptism; the Swiss Brethren took the additional step of rebaptizing those baptized in infancy, and were by their opponents called "Anabaptists" ("Rebaptizers," a name which they rejected inasmuch as they denied that infant baptism was baptism at all). The first recorded baptism among these people was of George Blaurock by Conrad Grebel; after this, Blaurock baptized others who gathered together in protest of Zwingli's failures. Anabaptism was also the conviction of many of the Radicals, but was not as important to them as it was to these Swiss Brethren.

The 16th Century Development

There was initially a period of rapid growth and wide dis-

early leaders educated;
later ones not.

semination of Anabaptist ideas. The first leaders were well educated, and they made a straightforward appeal to the common people and with their evangelistic fervor they soon won a wide following. Spreading through Switzerland, south Germany, and down the Rhine, the Anabaptists won their greatest success in Holland.

There followed a period of several decades of the most severe persecution and suppression. The authorities considered drowning a particularly appropriate punishment. All of the early leaders died young and after brief ministries. Few of these leaders died in their beds. The movement became largely a layman's movement without educated leadership. The persecution by Protestants and Catholics alike fanned the flames of millennial hopes and armed rebellion (as at Muenster) by some. Most, however, withdrew from all civic interests and turned their religion inward.

In the latter decades of the century there came a peaceful re-emergence and reorganization of the movement. At two places only did the Anabaptists emerge with any appreciable numbers. In Moravia the princes sheltered Anabaptists, and many under the leadership of Jakob Hutter (whose name they wear, "Hutterites") formed communistic communities there. In Holland the leadership of Dereck Philips and MENNO SIMONS gave a second founding to the movement; and from the latter derives the name "Mennonites."

Life of Menno Simons (1496-1561)

Menno Simons was destined by his parents for the service of the Catholic church, and he was educated in a Franciscan monastery in northern Holland. At 28 he was ordained and he spent 12 years as a parish priest. He was 30 before he ever opened a Bible. He did not take his office or his life too seriously. But doubts began to arise in his mind over the Lord's Supper, and martyrdom to the Anabaptist cause began to make

an impression on him. Intellectual sympathy with the Anabaptists preceded by five years a formal break with Catholicism (1536). Touched by their sufferings and seeing them as sheep without a shepherd, Menno accepted an invitation to lead the brethren in his province. He was soon traveling all over Holland, the Rhineland, and northern Germany. Almost constantly hunted by authorities, he still succeeded in setting those now called "Mennonites" on their course of life.

Doctrinal Emphases

The Bible was at the very heart of the movement; Scripture was the sole authority in religion. Conrad Grebel once admonished Thomas Muentzer:

Therefore we beg and admonish thee as a brother ... that thou wilt take earnest heed to preach only the divine word without fear, to set up and guard only divine institutions, to esteem as good and right only what may be found in pure and clear Scripture, to reject, hate, and curse all devices, words, customs, and opinions of man, including thine own ... whatever we are not taught by clear passages or examples must be regarded as forbidden.

Restoration
New Testament Christianity was to be recovered. There had been a fall away from the original purity of the church with the state church of Constantine and the practice of infant baptism. Hence the Anabaptists did not seek to reform the existing church, but to make a restitution of one that had been lost.

The church is a voluntary association of gathered believers. The Anabaptists were against any form of compulsion in religion.

One cannot and should not compel anyone to accept the faith, for faith is a free gift of God: (therefore) the church of Christ endures persecution but does not persecute.

Infant baptism was one form of coercion in religion. The established state church was the ultimate manifestation of this perversion of Christianity.

One mark of the true church was believers' baptism. Religion was highly personal and could not be vicarious.

Baptism shall be administered to all who are taught repentance and a change of life, and truly believe in the forgiveness of their sins through Jesus Christ, and are willing to walk in newness of life; all those shall be baptized when they desire it and ask it by the decision of their own minds, which excludes all infant baptism according to the Scriptures and the practice of the Apostles. (From the Brethren's Schleitheim Confession of Faith, 1527.)

Baptism was commonly by sprinkling, as was the accepted practice in Western Europe at the time, in the Anabaptist churches. The purpose of baptism was not clearly thought out, sometimes being positively related to the remission of sins but more often viewed as a sign.

The Lord's Supper was a simple memorial, only for the brethren. The rule for observance was simplicity. There was to be no special bread, no special cup, and no special priestly garments. The memorial and covenant aspects of the Supper were stressed.

In order to preserve the purity of the church the "ban" or excommunication was rigorously enforced. The ethical emphasis and the seriousness of the effort to have a church of the pure alone are shown by the fact that the "ban" has been the major cause of division within the Anabaptist ranks.

Many Anabaptists denied that a Christian could be a magistrate, carry the sword, or take an oath. It was possible to claim a Biblical basis for these views, but the attitude was probably tied especially to their opposition to a state church and their experience of government persecution.

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Review Questions

1. Name the different strands which are grouped under the heading of the "radical Reformation."
2. What circumstances marked the beginning of the Anabaptists proper in Zurich?
3. Outline the three periods of Anabaptist history for the 16th century.
4. Identify: Conrad Grebel; Jakob Hutter; Faustus Socinus.
5. Give some information on the life of Menno Simons.
6. What was the Anabaptist doctrine of the church? How does this compare with the doctrine of Luther and Calvin?
7. How does the Anabaptist position on baptism differ from the Catholic, Calvinist, later Baptist, and your view?
8. What was the Anabaptist view on Biblical authority?
9. What positions of the Anabaptists represent a withdrawal from the world?
10. What groups today are continuations of the 16th century Anabaptists?

Thought Questions

1. Do you find much kinship with the Anabaptists? If so, why?
2. If you should find yourself a member of a large religious majority, what would be your attitude toward the minority? Is religious persecution or coercion ever justified?

Lesson VI

CONSERVATIVE REFORMATIONS—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION

"Hold to the traditions"

The Church of England, 1509-1603

Wycliffite influence continued into the sixteenth century in England. Humanist scholars also exerted influence on the national life. A sense of national independence and a resentment of papal taxation had been strong for some time.

WILLIAM TYNDALE produced a translation of the New Testament into English in 1526, which, in spite of attempts at suppression by King Henry VIII, aroused interest in the Scriptures and which became the real basis for all subsequent English translations before the twentieth century. Having fled to the Continent to pursue his work, Tyndale was captured and burned as a heretic, with the dying prayer, "Open the King of England's eyes." The Reformation everywhere sought to put the Bible into the language of the people.

We may summarize the developments in English religious life according to the policies of the reigning monarchs.

Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547) began his reign as a loyal Catholic and won the title "Defender of the Faith" from the Pope by writing against Luther. However, in his concern to have a male heir to the throne he sought a papal annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. A papal dispensation had been necessary for the marriage initially, because Catherine was the widow of Henry's brother Arthur and church law forbade marriage to the widow of one's brother. Of six children born to Henry's union with Catherine, only Mary survived infancy. Catherine's nephew had become Emperor Charles V, and in order to avoid offending him the pope

stalled on Henry's request. Finally in 1534 Henry obtained from Parliament an act declaring himself to be "supreme head" of the Church of England. All payments to Rome were forbidden and the monasteries were suppressed. The English clergy subserviently followed the king's wishes. THOMAS CRANMER, archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced the desired annulment of the marriage to Catherine. No doctrinal innovations were undertaken during Henry's reign, but in 1538 an English translation of the Bible was ordered to be placed in each church for the people. Other marriages were in turn arranged for Henry with five other women; only the second of these (Jane Seymour) produced the desired male heir (Edward), and she died within a few days.

Edward VI (1547-1553) was only nine when Henry VIII died, so the government was in the hands of advisors. These men pushed a Protestant program of reform, which included the Book of Common Prayer and the Forty-two Articles, both largely the work of archbishop Cranmer. The former, with some revisions, became the most influential volume next to the Bible in shaping the language of worship in the English speaking world. The latter, with revisions, became the basic doctrinal standard of the Anglican church.

Mary (1553-1558), as the oldest child of Henry, succeeded the young Edward. She was loyal to the religion of her mother Catherine and inaugurated a Catholic reaction which repealed the Protestant legislation and also recognized papal authority. Persecution of Protestants produced a strong anti-Roman sentiment and earned for her the name "Bloody Mary." One of the victims was Cranmer, who held his hand (which had signed a recantation of his Protestant principles) into the flame to burn first. Many of the "Marian exiles" found refuge in Geneva and came under the influence of John Calvin.

Elizabeth (1558-1603), daughter of Henry by his second

wife, Anne Boleyn, proved to be one of England's ablest and most popular rulers. She steered England into the *via media* ("middle way") which has ever since been the claim to distinction of the Church of England. Papal supremacy was once more rejected, and Elizabeth was declared "supreme governor" of the Church of England. The Prayer Book was revised and the Thirty Nine Articles became the statement of faith of the English Church. RICHARD HOOKER (1553-1600) in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* gave distinguished literary defense to the Elizabethan establishment as founded on Scripture, tradition, and reason and as combining the best of Catholicism and Protestantism. "Catholic" elements included episcopacy, the ancient creeds, and liturgical worship; "Protestant" elements included the rejection of the papacy, the reduction of the sacraments to two (baptism and the Lord's supper), and denial of transubstantiation.

The various Episcopal Churches of the English speaking world are extensions of the Anglican church.

The Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation

In the early years of the Protestant Reformation the Popes were secular-minded monarchs more interested in Renaissance attainments than in the spiritual problems of the church. They neither understood the situation nor knew how to cope with it. One group in Italy desiring reform without revolution was the "Oratory of Divine Love." Among its leaders was Giovanni Caraffa, later Pope Paul IV, an admirer of the Spanish church.

The influences of the Catholic Reformation were largely related to Spain where the condition of the church stood in contrast to that in Italy. Led by Cardinal Ximenes the Spanish Church at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century witnessed a vigorous reformatory work, a generation before the Protestant revolt. It eliminated glaring

abuses, raised the moral and intellectual level of the clergy, and repressed heresy by the use of the Inquisition.

The Inquisition had been instituted in the thirteenth century in order to identify "heretics" (see Volume I, Lesson XII). After its revival in Spain it was adopted by the papacy in 1542 to check the spread of Protestantism into countries whose government was in the hands of Catholics. The Inquisition was a method of hunting out those who espoused "false doctrines." The accused were turned over to the secular rulers for punishment, with a plea for mercy which, if followed, could result in excommunication! Based on the premise that only truth (identified with Catholicism) has rights, the Inquisition wrote a chapter of terror in history.

More significant for the future was the founding of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) by IGNATIUS LOYOLA (1491-1556) from northern Spain. Pope Paul III authorized the new society in 1540. To the usual three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience members took an additional vow of absolute obedience to the Pope. As the "army of Christ" (the "shock troops of the pope") the order was drilled in the *Spiritual Exercises* of its founder. With no special dress nor fixed hours of worship in contrast to the monastic orders, the Jesuit order, had great freedom of movement and adaptability to achieve its special purposes. Using the private confessional, missionary zeal, and excellent schools, the Jesuits succeeded in stemming the Protestant tide in Europe and carried Romanism to foreign lands (Asia and the Americas). Their doctrines of Probabilism and Mental Reservation have repeatedly brought them under ethical censure. According to Probabilism, if, in a given situation calling for an ethical decision, any one authoritative writer in the church's tradition defended a certain course of action, that advice had enough probability of being right to make it a basis for action. Since it is possible to find this type of authority for almost any act in given situations, this teaching allowed for lax principles.

spiritual Kings X

According to Mental Reservation, one could conform outwardly to some requirement without giving consent of the mind, if this seemed expedient for advancing some "higher purpose," and not be held responsible for the outward act or word.

The Council of Trent met off and on from 1545 to 1563. Long desired by Emperor Charles V, the Council was finally called by Pope Paul III; the papal reluctance may be attributed to the memory of the conciliar movement of the preceding century (Lesson I). Certain moral and disciplinary reforms were instituted, but the Council is chiefly remembered for giving doctrinal formulation to the position of medieval Catholicism on those subjects called into question by the Protestant Reformation. Scripture and tradition were officially declared to be equal sources of truth. The Apocrypha (seven books and additions to other Old Testament books not included in the Jewish Bible) for the first time was authoritatively defined as belonging to the Canon, and the Latin Vulgate was adopted as the official version of the Scriptures.

Justification by faith alone was renounced. The doctrine of the seven sacraments was spelled out: baptism, eucharist, confirmation, penance, ordination, extreme unction, and marriage. The place of Mary, the saints, relics, and purgatory in Catholic piety and doctrine was affirmed. The influence of the Pope was maintained through the majority of Italian bishops and the Jesuit order.

In 1557 Pope Paul IV issued an *Index* of prohibited books.

In 1564 Pope Pius IV summarized the doctrines of Trent in a *Creed* to which faithful Catholics must subscribe. The Council of Trent dominated Catholic development for the next three centuries.

The failure of Philip II of Spain's Armada to conquer England in 1588 determined that North America (largely colonized from England) would be Protestant whereas South

America (settled and missionized from Spain) would be Catholic.

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Review Questions

1. Name the English sovereigns of the sixteenth century.
2. Characterize the external situation in the religious life of England under each of these rulers.
3. Identify: Thomas Cranmer, Richard Hooker, Ignatius Loyola, William Tyndale, Cardinal Ximenes.
4. What is the place of the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles in the Church of England?
5. What are some "Catholic" and some "Protestant" elements in the Elizabethan "middle way"?
6. What is the significance of the Spanish Church for Roman Catholicism in the 16th century?
7. List the three principal thrusts of the Counter-Reformation described in this lesson.
8. What were some of the new features in the Jesuit order?
9. What were some of the important accomplishments of the Council of Trent?
10. What was the significance of Philip II of Spain's failure to conquer Elizabethan England?

Thought Questions

1. Roman Catholicism was missionary minded but Protestantism was not in the 16th century. How can you account for this? What significance was this to have for the future?
2. How were religion and politics intertwined in England and in Spain? How did this affect religion in the western hemisphere?

Lesson VII

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND: THE PURITANS

"*Make holiness perfect in the fear of God*"

The variety of religious life in the United States finds a good part of its origins in the religious controversies of seventeenth century England. The modern era of church history for the English speaking world takes its rise here. The controversies of this period gave a great deal of emphasis to church organization which has since been a characteristic concern of the Ango-American world.

The Rise of the Puritans

Already in the 1560's there was agitation against the wearing of prescribed vestments in the worship services of the church of England. Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury, implemented Queen Elizabeth's policy. The "Marian exiles" (see preceding lesson) on their return from Geneva wanted a more aggressive Protestantism and purification of the church from all that was a reminder of Rome. "Puritan" was the nickname given for this emphasis. At that time the term lacked the moral connotation it acquired later. Puritans formed a movement and represented an attitude broader than any one party.

Thomas Cartwright became the leader in the second phase of Puritanism in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. He advocated a constitutional change in the Church of England in favor of presbyterian church polity. Episcopacy (government by bishops) was defended by John Whitgift and Richard Hooker (see preceding lesson).

The Scottish Revolt from Rome

In the meantime the Church of Scotland had been reformed under Calvinist influence. JOHN KNOX (d. 1572) was the

outstanding religious leader after 1555 in a double struggle for Protestantism and independence from French influence. He had studied at Geneva and guided a strongly Calvinistic reform. In 1560 the Scottish Parliament declared for Reformation. Andrew Melville continued Knox's work and perfected Scottish Presbyterianism.

Mary Queen of Scots was compelled to abdicate in 1567, and her one year old son became King James VI under a regency. In 1603 he united the thrones of Scotland and England (with the name James I in England), and the hopes of the Puritan party in England were encouraged.

James I (VI) (1603-1625)

James perceived in episcopacy a more congenial support for monarchy, with the declaration, No bishop, no king. He decided against the Puritans and supported the Elizabethan settlement of religious problems. One influential result of his reign was the authorization of a new translation of the Bible (the Authorized or "King James" Version)—1611.

The Anglicans became more identified with the king's policy, but the Puritans were growing as a political force.

Demands for more immediate and radical reformation of the English Church produced Separatists who were not willing to wait for a reformation of the church from within. Robert Browne, the first main Congregationalist, had started a Separatist congregation in 1580. A group of Separatists, including William Brewster and John Robinson, went to Leyden, Holland in 1609. It was out of this group that the "Pilgrims" came in 1620 on the Mayflower to Plymouth. Some Separatists rejected infant baptism and established in Amsterdam the first recognizable Baptist church. The first permanent Baptist Church on English soil dates from 1611.

Charles I (1625-1649) and the Civil War

The Puritans suffered under the heavy-handed Charles and his high Anglican archbishop WILLIAM LAUD. Laud was narrow, rough tongued, and convinced there was no true church without bishops. The earlier defenders of the Anglican church had not made "Divine right" claims for episcopacy. As the Puritans pressed the claim that only presbyterian church government had Biblical authority, the Episcopalians made the same claim for their system of church government.

Parliament was dismissed from 1629-40 because of its opposition to the King's policies. By now the Anglican cause was closely identified with the king's policy and the Puritan position was allied with the Parliamentary majority opposed to the king. In 1630 many Puritan Congregationalists who did not want to separate from the established church but who saw no hopes of transforming it into their pattern of a Scriptural church departed for Massachusetts.

The storm broke in Scotland in 1638 where Charles' attempt at religious uniformity confronted a national resistance movement by the Presbyterian Scots who signed a National Covenant to defend the "true religion." Charles was forced to reconvene Parliament in order to raise money to prosecute war against the Scots. The Presbyterian majority, however, cast Laud and others into prison. An attempt by the King to seize certain members of Parliament spread the civil war to England. In 1645 the Parliamentary army under OLIVER CROMWELL routed the last of the royal army.

Meanwhile the Parliament had abolished episcopacy and summoned an assembly to draw up a pattern of religion for a new establishment. From 1643 to 1647 the Westminster Assembly was in session. It produced the Westminster Confession and catechisms, which rank among the most notable expositions of Calvinism.

Cromwell's Protectorate

Charles was executed in 1649. Cromwell's army was the real authority. By now the army was largely composed of Independents, neither Anglican nor Presbyterian. These Independents found the rigid Presbyterianism of the parliamentary majority as distasteful as the older rule of bishops.

The religious groups in Cromwell's England foreshadowed the modern pluralist society. A partial listing includes the following religious persuasions:

- (1) Roman Catholics—both those agitating for a return of papal control to England and those non-political in interest.
- (2) High Church Anglicans—represented by Laud and the "Caroline divines," these adhered to the "divine right" of kings and episcopacy.
- (3) Moderate Episcopalians—represented, for example, by archbishop Ussher of Ireland (of Ussher's chronology and other scholarly activities fame), they thought episcopacy was the best form of church government but they wanted an inclusive church and sought compromise with the Presbyterians,
- (4) Presbyterian Anglicans—the most eminent of whom was RICHARD BAXTER, they wanted a national church organized on presbyterian lines, as in Scotland.
- (5) Non-Separating Independent Anglicans—these wanted an established national church but with a Congregational organization; their leading representatives are to be found among the New England Puritans.
- (6) Separating Independents—represented earlier by John Robinson, they were Congregationalists who favored separation from the church established by law.
- (7) Baptists—an early leader was Thomas Helwys; they were distinguished from other Separatists by their adoption of adult immersion, but were divided themselves into (a) "Particular Baptists" (Calvinists) and (b) "General Baptists" (Arminian or non-Calvinist in theology).

- (8) Quakers—led by GEORGE FOX, they flourished on Puritan soil but substituted the guidance of the "inner light" for the sole authority of written scripture.
- (9) Parties to the left—comprised varying expressions of political extremes given a religious sanction.

The term "Puritan" may include groups 3 through 7a.

The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution

The near anarchy following Cromwell's death in 1658 led Presbyterians and Episcopalians to unite in restoring monarchy under Charles II (1660-85). The new Act of Uniformity in 1662 and other severe acts drove the Puritan party outside the Church of England. Separate Presbyterian, Congregational, and other churches were the result (known as "Dissenters" from the establishment), however Puritan influences continued even in the Anglican church. James II (1685-88) aimed at restoring Roman Catholicism, but it was already a century too late for any such an endeavor. A bloodless revolution in 1688-89 brought William of Orange of the Netherlands and Mary (daughter of James) to the throne. A Toleration Act granted freedom of worship to those who accepted the doctrinal portions of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

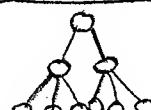
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Frederick A. Norwood. *The Development of Modern Christianity Since 1500*. Apex Paperback. Nashville: Abingdon Press. Chapter III for this lesson, but good for all the lessons in this volume.

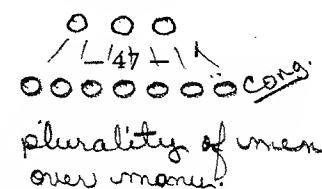
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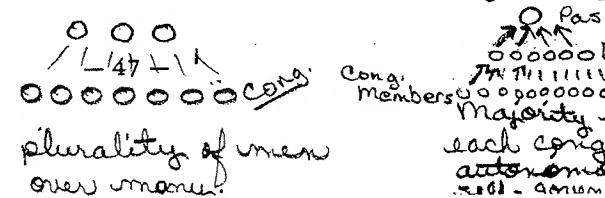
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many.

Presbyterian



plurality of men
over women.

Congregational



each cong.
autonomous

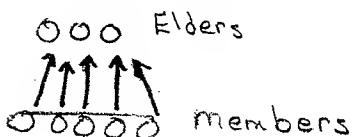
Review Questions

1. Define "Puritans."
2. What controversy marks the first appearance of "Puritanism" in the Church of England?
3. What form of church organization came to be advocated by most of the Puritans? Who was the first leading advocate of this position in the Church of England? By whom was he opposed?
4. Who was the leader of the Scottish Reformation?
5. Name the kings of England in the seventeenth century. Identify the religious policy of each, and name the significant religious developments under each.
6. Who were some of the early Separatists?
7. List some of the significant events of the English Civil War.
8. What is the importance of Westminster Assembly?
9. The three principal forms of church government in Christian history are the episcopal, presbyterian, and congregational. How are these represented in seventeenth century England?
10. To what do the terms "Separatist" and "Non-Separatist" refer? "Anglican"? "Independent"? "Dissenter"?

Thought Questions

1. Why is seventeenth century English history important for American religious history?
2. What fundamental issues were in dispute between Anglicans and Puritans?

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- 48 -

Lesson VIII

RELIGIOUS PATTERNS IN THE U.S.A.

"For freedom Christ has set us free"

The religious patterns of Europe, and especially England, were transplanted to the new world. The new circumstances and resultant combinations produced distinctive features in the religious life of the U. S.

Religion in the Settlement of the Colonies

Virginia, beginning in 1607 at Jamestown, was settled largely by members of the Church of England, which became the established religion. Religion was not a prominent motive in the founding of the colony, and the rigid religious statutes of the colony were soon relaxed. The Church remained dependent on England, and the Anglican Church in this country was an Episcopal Church without a bishop until after the Revolution.

Massachusetts, and then other parts of New England, received mainly Congregational dissenters. Two types are to be distinguished. The Pilgrims who came to Plymouth in 1620 had been (separatists) who had gone to Holland seeking religious freedom. The Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1628-30, were (non-separatists) who came to organize a "Godly Commonwealth" in the wilderness according to their understanding of the Biblical pattern (a church with congregational polity established by the State). In the new world the differences in their attitude toward the established Church of England became less significant, and an established church with Congregational polity emerged. Quakers and Baptists especially were unwelcome.

Rhode Island was the exception to the Congregational establishment in New England. It became the haven for Roger Williams (1636) and others who could not endure the Puritan

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theocracy. In 1639 the first Baptist Church in America was established in the colony, but Roger Williams soon left the Baptist fellowship. Williams established religious liberty in Rhode Island on religious principles: precisely because he took God so seriously he did not believe that man's relations to God could be dictated. Williams carried on a spirited literary debate with John Cotton of Massachusetts on the subject of religious toleration. The titles give the flavor of the controversy: Williams wrote "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution"; Cotton replied with "The Bloody Tenet Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb"; to which Williams responded with "The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody."

Maryland was chartered in 1632 to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, who in order to secure tolerance for Catholics (who were very unpopular in England since the plots against Elizabeth to restore papal supremacy in England) established full religious liberty. Under Baltimore's Protestant governor, William Stone (an ancestor of Barton Stone—Lesson XI), the Maryland Act concerning Religion of 1649 was passed, one of the first Toleration Acts. Ironically, members of the Church of England gained control and established this church in Maryland before the Revolution.

Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn in 1681 and was settled by Quakers the following year. Their rule was congenial to a variety of German religious sects and other persecuted groups. The pacifist policies of the Quakers led to their abdication from political responsibility in the following century, but a greater variety of religious practice had already been introduced into Pennsylvania than into any of the other colonies.

In the southern colonies the Church of England was established but was soon rivalled by other groups. In New York and New Jersey there was variety from the start. The Dutch brought the Reformed faith to New York. Scottish and Eng-

lish Presbyterians also spread the faith of Calvin throughout the colonies, but especially in the middle colonies.

Religion and Liberty—the 18th Century Achievement

Clergymen, especially in New England, were active propagandists for the revolutionary principles. The political theories of John Locke (see Lesson IX) provided the philosophical undergirding for the right of revolution.

With the securing of independence and the founding of the new nation, organizational ties of the churches with the old world were broken. During the years when the new nation was taking shape most of the churches established a national organization as independent denominations. The "Methodist Episcopal Church" held its organizational conference in 1784, attaining separate denominational status before Methodists in England did. The "Protestant Episcopal Church" adopted a national constitution in 1789, having received its first bishops (ordained in England) within the preceding five years. In the period from 1785-88 the Presbyterian Church adopted a national organization, form of worship, and confession of faith. These developments were typical of the nationalizing and centralizing tendencies of the times during which the churches were adapting themselves to denominational status in a new nation.

The plurality of churches made impossible a national establishment of religion, so the principle of freedom of religion was written into the first amendment to the Constitution. Increased agitation for the separation of church and state had begun with the opening of the Revolutionary War, especially on the part of Baptists (e. g. Isaac Backus) in New England and political theorists in Virginia. Virginia was the first state, in 1786, to enact a "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom." Political statesmen such as Thomas Jefferson (Deist) and James Madison (Church of England) combined

with those who advocated religious liberty on religious grounds (Baptist and Quakers) in advocating a "wall of separation" between church and state on a national basis. However, it was not until 1833 that the last state (Massachusetts) disestablished its "Church of the Standing Order" by abolishing legislative support of instruction in the public worship of God.

With the disestablishment of the churches, the public schools replaced the churches as the organs for the transmission of the values of American culture. Hence, the schools have become the principal battleground in the twentieth century for church-state problems. Here religious values and secular interests have come into sharpest conflict, for in the schools most was at stake as to the meaning of the separation of church and state.

Characteristics of American Church History

In the separation of church and state American Christianity pioneered in the modern world. Nevertheless the history of the churches has been very much influenced by the national history—as a notable example most of the churches divided, as the nation did, in connection with the Civil War. American church history closely follows the political history, and much of the institutional history is a study in American sociology. Few distinctive doctrinal ideas and few influential theologians have been contributed to world church history from the American scene. Practical activity rather than theological thought has been the strong point of American churches.

As a result of the separation of church and state, denominationalism as a separate church type has been a characteristic of religion in America. In Europe the pattern has been the large established church or the small sect. In America the denomination has emerged as an intermediate type of church organization.

The freedom of religion and atmosphere of free thought, open propaganda, and ease of free association encouraged the proliferation of sects, each assuming its own institutional form.

The prevalence of congregational government, lay participation, voluntary finance, and representative conventions all may further be related to the political atmosphere of the country. These circumstances have given an independence and vitality to American churches in sharp contrast to the established churches of Europe where the population is nominally Christian but actually indifferent to the affairs of the churches.

Revivalism has also been one of the main currents in American church history. America's part in the evangelistic movements of modern church history will be noted in Lesson X.

▲ Immigration and racial churches from the old world have also determined the religious patterns of this country. Immigrants for a time would keep their language, customs, and churches from the old world before being assimilated into the new environment. Hence many splits and divisions from the old world were transplanted to this country, although many of them were meaningless in the new environment. The churches often preserved language and racial barriers, adding to the number of denominations in the country—for instance there were German Lutherans, Danish Lutherans, Swedish Lutherans, Norwegian Lutherans, etc. in varying stages of accommodation to the new world according to the time of their immigration. These in recent years have merged, reducing the number of Lutheran bodies in the country.

American churches, themselves in a sense products of a missionary spirit, have been especially interested in foreign missions.

Lesson IX

RATIONALISM AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

"The heavens declare the glory of God"

Supplementary Bibliography

W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*. N. Y.: Harper's.

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Review Questions

1. What religious bodies predominated in the founding of the various colonies?
2. Identify: Roger Williams, William Penn, John Cotton, Lord Baltimore, Isaac Backus.
3. What was the role of the churches in the Revolutionary War?
4. What were some of the influences leading to the adoption of the principle of religious liberty in the U. S.?
5. What was the first state to write the principle of separation into law? When? What was the last of the original states to adopt this principle? When?
6. When did the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians adopt a national organization for their churches in this country?
7. List and discuss some of the distinctive characteristics of American Church History.
8. Compare American churches with their European counterparts.

Thought Questions

1. Do you think the "American spirit" has determined the distinctive features of religious life in the U. S.? To what extent should local culture be allowed to influence the spirit and forms of religious life?
2. How do you account for the differences between American and European churches?
3. What are some of the problems in carrying through consistently a policy of separation of church and state? Is this the same as to separate the state and religion?

The fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries saw the unravelling of the medieval cultural synthesis in Western Europe. Science, philosophy, and religion went their separate ways with no integrating factor or common world view to hold them together. They have not been effectively brought together in western society as a whole since then. The intellectual movement which had begun with the Renaissance and had been only partially stayed when the Reformation generated other concerns came to a climax in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The eighteenth century developments in science and philosophy mark the "watershed" for the modern era of thought, separating modern man as much from the Reformation as from the Middle Ages.

The Scientific Development

Progress in the sciences of astronomy and physics since the Renaissance brought great changes from the medieval world view. Copernicus (1473-1543), Kepler (1571-1630), and Galileo (1564-1642) were some of the important pioneers. The establishment of the Copernican or heliocentric (sun centered) view of our universe in the place of the geocentric (earth centered) view has served as a convenient symbol to the common man for the general intellectual revolution taking place. But it should be remembered that it was not the new science itself but the new philosophical viewpoints which attacked religion and brought a decline in belief.

ISAAC NEWTON (1642-1727), best known for his discovery of the "law of gravity," became the symbol for the eighteenth century of the new concept of the cosmos. The praise ascribed to Newton is well summed up in the lines of Alexander Pope, "God said, 'Let Newton be,' and all was

light." Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* reduced the movements of the heavenly bodies to mathematical formulas and so provided the basis for the concept of a mechanistic universe operating by inviolable natural law. Newton himself was a devout believer, but God became for him the Great Mechanic who made the machine and occasionally tinkered with it in order to keep it in running order. It has only been in the twentieth century that Newtonian physics of absolute space and time has been replaced by other discoveries. But already modern philosophy had been built up from such a "closed" and absolute world view as this "mechanical" concept of Newton's favored.

The Philosophical Development

Modern philosophy began with the French Catholic Descartes (1596-1650), the founder of Rationalism. Philosophical Rationalism could still be a friend of religion with Descartes and Leibniz (1646-1716), but with Spinoza (1632-1677) it was turned into pantheism and in the hands of others it left little room for direct revelation.

The new attitude was not the use of reason, but the independent place ascribed to reason and the degree of confidence in its unaided powers. One must distinguish the general "rationalist attitude" and approach ("rationalism") from Rationalism as a particular philosophical school.

British Empiricism (the philosophical theory that all knowledge comes through experience) began with JOHN LOCKE (1632-1704), who is the second great symbol, along with Newton, of the eighteenth century outlook for the English speaking world. For Locke the mind begins as a "blank tablet," the *tabula rasa*. All knowledge is dependent on what comes through the senses and the reasoning based on these sense experiences. Locke distinguished propositions as contrary to reason, according to reason, and above reason. The

former cannot be accepted; the second are established by reason; and the latter, which do not involve logical contradiction but are outside our experience, may be accepted on the basis of reliable testimony. Locke's *The Reasonableness of Christianity* offered a logical defense of Christianity and a plea for a non-denominational unity in essentials without divisive creeds in matters of opinion, a source for the plea later to be made by Alexander Campbell (Lesson XI).

Locke's political theory became influential on the American colonists as a defense of the right of revolution. On his view government is a social compact based on the consent of the governed; in cases of abuse of power the people may take back the power they have delegated, through the right of revolution.

The Religious Implications

The eighteenth century has been called "The Age of Reason." In the aftermath of the Thirty Years War in Germany (1618-48) and the Civil Wars in seventeenth Century England (Lesson VII) many people were weary of religious dogmatism and narrow creedalism. They turned to reason as the hope of salvation. Of those influenced by the new "rationalism" some saw in it an occasion even to renounce Christianity; some constructed a rational religion drawn from elements of the Christian tradition; while others sought to use reason in defense of their Christianity. Those who rejected or ignored the new reasoning approach either retreated (1) into the citadel of creeds or (2) into the citadel of the heart with its emotional experience of religion: The former, the "old orthodox," continued the work of "Protestant Scholasticism," refining their positions in accord with dogmatically held creeds. Vital religion was represented by the latter, "Pietists" (compare the next lesson).

In France rationalism and naturalism were openly anti-

religious, as with Voltaire. In Germany the scientific and philosophical developments produced the "Enlightenment." This movement was anti-supernatural and, where it was not indifferent to Christianity, it placed its emphasis on reason and morality. England saw the development of Deism, a religion established on the basis of reason alone. The essential features of this natural religion were the existence of God, moral obligations on man, and a future state of rewards and punishment. Providential activity was denied. The observation of the natural world was thought to confirm the existence of God and His benevolent attitude toward man. Many Deists, as for example Ben Franklin, were tolerant of organized religion. Tom Paine, who wrote *The Age of Reason*, was influenced by the French expression of rationalism and thus took a line of strong opposition to Christianity.

The typical Protestant position of the age may be termed "supernatural rationalism," that is, the use of the new philosophical reason as a defense for traditional Christianity. This approach was especially characteristic of the English speaking world. Accepting the premises of the Deists about a revelation in nature available to the reasoning of every man, the typical defense of this view then sought to prove a special supernatural revelation in the Bible supplementing the natural revelation. The characteristic approach raised the questions, Is it possible? Is it desirable? and Did it occur? Both internal evidences (high morality, consistency of the revelation, etc.) and external evidences (miracles, fulfilled prophecies) were adduced to prove the reality of a special revelation. This apologetic argument was successful against the Deists, and, as often happens, what was an effective argument for one century became an article of faith for the next. This continues to be the apologetic approach of some believers, even though the enemies of today no longer accept the premises on which it was constructed (e. g. existence of God, natural revelation, a moral universe). Thus the philosophical framework of this apologetic is no longer convincing to many.

JOSEPH BUTLER (1692-1752) was the most acute thinker among the antagonists of the Deists. His *Analogy of Religion*, by showing that the same difficulties and the same characteristics were in natural religion which had been urged against Christianity, sought to demonstrate that the same God was the author of both.

DAVID HUME (1711-1776), the radical empiricist, undercut the apologetic enterprise by questioning the value of miracles as evidences. His scepticism of the possibility of any human knowledge at all effectively ended the "Age of Reason" as an intellectual era.

A philosophical reconstruction began with IMMANUEL KANT (1724-1804). He sharply limited the area of human knowledge by his separation between the phenomenal (actual, literal) world and the world of ideas. "Pure reason" does not know the "thing in itself." But the reason "lays down the categories" by which we understand things. For instance, qualities of unity, substance, causality, etc. may not exist in the object perceived, but are the categories imposed by the mind as conditions of admission to the understanding. Kant was impressed by two things: "the starry heaven above" and "the moral law within." The "practical reason" constructs a "categorical imperative"—so act that you can will your conduct to be a universal standard of conduct. Every man has a sense of duty, of "oughtness" which can be the basis of a moral law. Kant was important for religious history for his sharp separation of faith and knowledge, his equation of religion with morality, and his scepticism of the philosophical proofs for the existence of God (although he argued for God's existence as a necessary postulate of the moral nature of man).

Unitarianism

One religious body may be said to have emerged as an em-

bodiment of the principles of rationalism—the Unitarians. The origins of American Unitarianism may be found in a liberal movement within New England Congregationalism in the latter part of the eighteenth century. An "Arminian" movement attacked the Calvinism of the Congregationalists on the subjects of original sin and justification. Charles Chauncy and his friends went beyond these points to universalism (everybody saved) and anti-Trinitarianism.

In the years 1805-25 a series of events split the Congregationalists—significant among which was the securing of control of Harvard College by the Liberals. WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING (1780-1842) was the most articulate spokesman among the leaders in the beginning of the Unitarian movement as a separate denomination. At this time the movement was still Bible-based, and grounded its position in a rational interpretation of scripture. Certain Transcendentalists—Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker—gave Unitarianism a different orientation. At the present time an openly Humanist element in the Unitarian-Universalist fellowship is growing at the expense of those who want to keep some roots in the Christian tradition of Theism.

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Review Questions

1. What is the important "watershed" in modern intellectual history?
2. Name the two men who stand as symbols of thought for the English 18th century, one a scientist and the other a philosopher.
3. What was the "Copernican revolution"?
4. Identify: Galileo, Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza.
5. Describe the philosophical, political, and religious influence of John Locke.
6. What is the position of Newton in the history of science?
7. What different religious positions, in relation to the new currents of "rationalism," were possible in the eighteenth century?
8. Characterize the influence of rationalism in France, Germany, and England, as expressed by the terms "Naturalism," "Enlightenment," and "Deism."
9. What were the main points of "natural religion," as developed by those who, using reason as a criterion, developed a new religion out of elements from the Christian tradition?
10. Describe the typical apologetic approach developed in the eighteenth century. Who was Joseph Butler?
11. Why was Hume such a disturbing figure?
12. What was Immanuel Kant's importance?
13. What are some important events in the development of American Unitarianism?

Thought Questions

1. Why have science, philosophy, and religion tended to develop independently in the modern world? Has this made for harmonious relations between these disciplines of thought?
2. What is the function of apologetics? Can the apologetics of one age be expected to serve a function in another? Why have some in the twentieth century often continued to use the apologetics developed in the eighteenth?

Lesson X

EVANGELICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

"God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit"

Pietism on the Continent

"Protestant Scholasticism," as orthodoxy has been called, placed its emphasis on correctness of doctrinal formulation and left little room for any religion of the heart. In the aftermath of the Thirty Years War rationalism (preceding lesson) invaded the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Both orthodoxy and rationalism seemed to have ignored the emotions in their emphasis on the intellect. Some in the churches found the minute points of dogma less important for the religious life, however, than practical expressions of piety.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century in Germany PHILIPP JAKOB SPENER (1635-1705) and AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE (1663-1727) sought to revitalize the churches through Bible readings and prayer sessions among small groups within each congregation. Spener's writings, *Pia Desideria* and *Priesthood of All Believers*, set forth the program of Pietism. The movement was laity centered (as versus priestly), was concerned with individual conversion, and was perfectionist in morality. Practical piety was made the real test of who is a Christian. Out of Pietism there came programs for the care and education of orphans and also considerable missionary activity, projects such as were especially the result of the zeal and organizing ability of Francke. Indeed, Pietism provided the first principal thrust of foreign mission work by Protestants.

Pietism was not altogether anti-intellectual. Many schools were started under Pietist influence, and the University of Halle (founded 1691) was a center of Pietism. One of the

eighteenth century's great Biblical scholars, J. S. Bengel (1687-1752), was a Pietist. His *Gnomon*, or Index of the New Testament, became the basis of John Wesley's *Notes upon the New Testament*.

Although in some ways subversive of traditional orthodoxy, Pietism remained within the established churches. One separately organized religious body which exemplified Pietism was the Moravian Brethren, the outgrowth of the Unitas Fratrum from the Hussite reform in Bohemia (Lesson I). The Moravian Brethren came under the patronage of Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, a village founded on his estate. Many in the 18th century became impressed with the Moravian manner of life as exemplifying true Christian living.

John Wesley and Methodism in England

JOHN WESLEY lived and died in the Church of England (1703-1791). His upbringing was in a very religious home, and as a student at Oxford he was a member of the "Holy Club" (also called "Bible-Moths" and "Methodists"). Wesley was sent for a time as an Anglican clergyman to Georgia, but he returned to England after a rather unsuccessful ministry. His decisive "heart warming" experience came while attending a meeting of an Anglican "society" on Aldersgate Street in London. Wesley was much impressed by the Moravians and paid a visit to Herrnhut, but certain characteristics of the Moravians he considered improper.

Wesley began an intensive revival campaign which carried him throughout the British Isles in a ministry characterized by the motto, "The world is my parish." The working classes were reached in an effective manner such as the established Anglican church had not accomplished. Wesley was a genius at organization and developed the "Methodist Societies" as cells within the Anglican Church in a highly efficient way. His brother, Charles, wrote some of the great evangelical hymns of the English language.

Wesley differed from his co-laborer, George Whitefield, a Calvinist, on the question of predestination, a doctrine which Wesley rejected. Wesley shared the general "Arminian" trend of Anglican theology since the Puritan controversies (the Puritans had been Calvinists whereas the Anglican party into which Wesley was born was Arminian—Lesson IV). Wesley preached a Gospel of "free grace." Another doctrinal emphasis was "perfectionism," the entire sanctification of the believer (later understood largely in moral terms) through continual progress toward absolute sinlessness. But the main legacy of the Wesleyan revival was not doctrinal but practical: Christian morality; the virtues of thrift, work, and charity; and social betterment.

Practical necessity gave a separate organization to "Methodists" in America immediately after the Revolution. The shortage of sympathetic priests in the church of England who would administer the sacraments to Wesley's followers led him, although himself only a presbyter, to ordain "superintendents" (bishops) for the American societies. Wesley was led to this step because of his conviction that in the ancient church there was no distinction between presbyters and bishops and their differentiation was only an administrative arrangement. His brother Charles did not approve of this step. Although Wesley had no intention of his movement separating from the Church of England, already by the time of his death the essential steps had been taken toward the self-government of Methodism in England. The opposition of many Anglican clergymen to the "enthusiasm" (excessive emotionalism) of Methodism had made the eventual separation a certainty. However, many had co-operated with Wesley, and an evangelical party grew up in the Church of England itself as a consequence of the Methodist movement.

Wesley's work revitalized religious life in England and started a process of social reform which was to save England much of the economic and social strife which hit the continent in the nineteenth century.

The Nazarenes, Holiness bodies, Free Methodists, and the Salvation Army are among later groups which represent efforts to recover Wesleyan viewpoints neglected by Methodism at large in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Revivalism in America

Some stirrings toward revival were found already in the 1720's among the Reformed churches in the middle colonies. JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703-1758), the most original thinker in Colonial America, combined rigorous intellectual thought about religious philosophy with evangelistic success. He began a remarkable revival in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1734. The evangelistic tour of Whitefield in 1739-40 caught up all the colonies in the fires of a revival which became known as the "Great Awakening."

This first great period was brief, but revivals in the southern colonies in the later eighteenth century merged with a "Second Great Awakening" at the close of the Revolutionary War. This time it was on the Western frontier of the new nation that the greatest results were achieved, especially through the use of the "Camp Meeting" in the early 1800's. Some unusual "exercises" accompanied the emotional preaching and praying at these gatherings—falling to the ground, the "jerks," barking, shrieks, the "holy laugh," and other such outlets for pent-up feelings.

Revivalism in the nineteenth century became a science with the writing of a number of manuals telling how to have a successful revival; the most famous of these systematizers was Charles G. Finney. Although people of a Calvinist background had been the first leaders in revivalism in this country, the Methodists and Baptists employed it with the greatest success. Their success in revivalism and in following the pioneers westward made the Baptists and Methodists the major American denominations. Indeed the very emphasis on

human means in the "how to do it" manuals and on *human response* inherent in revivalism caused a weakening of certain points in Calvinist theology among those Presbyterians and Congregationalists who adopted its techniques.

Revivalism cut across denominational lines. It gave tremendous energy toward benevolent works, the founding of schools, and the sending out of missionaries. In succeeding waves Revivalism has been a determinative factor in American religious life, and it has continued to form even in the twentieth century (from Dwight L. Moody to Billy Graham) an enduring feature of the churches' activities.

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Review Questions

1. Where did the evangelical movements first become prominent?
2. What were the contributions of Spener and Francke?
3. Characterize Pietism.
4. Identify the Moravian Brethren.
5. Give some account of the life of John Wesley.
6. What were some of Wesley's doctrinal emphases?
7. What were the attitudes of John Wesley and the Church of England toward each other?
8. What led to the separation of Methodism from the church of England?
9. Name some religious bodies which are heirs of Wesleyan revival.
10. When did revivalism begin in America?
11. Who were some early preachers in the American "Great Awakening"?
12. Mention some nineteenth century developments in regard to revivalism.

Thought Questions

1. What is the proper relationship between the "religion of the head" and the "religion of the heart"? Are these incompatible?
2. What permanent contributions to Protestant religious life can you see resulting from the influence of Pietism, Methodism and Revivalism?

Lesson XI

THE RESTORATION MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

"Ask for the old paths where is the good way"

O'Kelly, Jones, and Stone: *The Christian Connection*

James O'Kelly was a popular preacher among the Methodists in North Carolina and Virginia. He objected to the appointment of a superintendent as a move toward autocracy, saying that the organization adopted was "of the preachers, by the preachers, and for the preachers." In 1792 he presented a resolution to the Methodist convention providing for appeals by ministers who disagreed with their assignments from the superintendent. When the resolution was voted down, he led a group out of the Methodist Church and formed the "Republican Methodist Church." In 1794 at the suggestion of Rice Haggard, they dropped this name and called themselves only "Christians." They adopted the following principles: (1) The Lord Jesus Christ as the only Head of the Church; (2) the name Christian to the exclusion of all party and sectarian names; (3) the Holy Bible as the only creed and a sufficient rule of faith and practice; (4) Christian character, or vital piety, the only test of church fellowship and membership; (5) the right of private judgement and liberty of conscience the privilege and duty of all.

Abner Jones had been a Baptist before organizing a "Christian Church at Lyndon, Vermont, in 1801. Elias Smith as a lad had been baptized by immersion for remission of sins by a Baptist preacher without becoming a member of a Baptist Church. Smith organized a "church of Christ" in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1803. It is claimed that Elias Smith published the first religious paper in this country, *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*, begun in 1808. Jones and Smith were in reaction against Calvinist theology and were noncreedal in emphasis. They practiced adult immersion and gave prominence to a

"conversion experience" as a result of their Baptist background. Their church polity was Congregational. For a time there was some co-operation between these New England "Christians" and the developing Unitarian movement, but cultural and social differences kept them apart.

BARTON W. STONE (1772-1844) had been ordained by the Presbyterians in northern Kentucky in spite of the fact that he was willing to subscribe to the Westminster Confession only "in so far as it is in accord with the Bible." He had an active part in the Cane Ridge and other camp meeting revivals of 1800-1803. Stone was concerned about the contradiction between preaching to anyone "to come to the Lord" and the Calvinistic doctrine that one couldn't move without a work of grace on the elect. But he could not deny the results of the revival. He and four other ministers therefore withdrew from the Kentucky Synod of the Presbyterian Church before disciplinary action could be taken against them for doctrinal laxity. They formed the "Springfield Presbytery," but within a few months they disbanded it, as lacking scriptural authority, in favor of congregational polity. Their reasons were set forth in "The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery," of 1804. Among its declarations were the following items:

"We will, that this body die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the Body of Christ at large; for there is but one Body . . .

"We will that our power of making laws for the government of the church and executing them by delegated authority, forever cease . . .

"We will that the people henceforth take the Bible as the only guide to heaven . . ."

They further adopted the name "Christian."

There were various attempts at co-operation among these early groups, but their conferences were voluntary and not in-

tended in any sense as a denominational organization. In 1833 a general conference of the "Christian Connection" was organized on a permanent basis, but already in 1832 Stone had led many of his followers into union with the Disciples movement of Campbell (see below). The Christian Connection in 1931 merged with Congregational Churches, and these in turn have merged with the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1957 to form the United Church of Christ.

Thomas and Alexander Campbell: The Disciples

Thomas Campbell was a school teacher and minister for the Seceder Presbyterian church serving Scottish immigrants in Ireland. Because of poor health he came to Pennsylvania in 1807. He was soon in trouble with the Synod because of his understanding of faith and his attitude toward creeds. In 1809 Thomas Campbell withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod, and he along with a few others of like mind formed the "Christian Association of Washington (Pa.)" (not a church) to promote undenominational Christianity within the existing churches.

Thomas Campbell's family had been left behind while he made arrangements for them to come later. A shipwreck necessitated a year's sojourn in Scotland before the family joined him in America. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL (1788-1866), the oldest son, took advantage of the delay to study at Glasgow. During this time he came under the influence of the Independents and began to move away from his Presbyterian background.

When Alexander met his father, the latter showed him "The Declaration and Address" which set forth his program for Christian unity. Among the propositions of this noble document are the following:

That the Church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally, and constitutionally one, consisting of

all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to Him in all things according to the scriptures, and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct ...

Nothing ought to be inculcated upon Christians as articles of faith, nor required of them as terms of communion, but what is expressly taught and enjoined upon them in the word of God. Nor ought anything be admitted as of divine obligation in their church constitution and managements, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Apostles upon the New Testament Church, either in expressed terms or by approved precedent ...

Nothing ought to be received into the faith or worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion amongst Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament ...

That although inferences and deductions from scripture premises, when fairly inferred, may be truly called the doctrine of God's holy word, yet are they not formally binding upon the consciences of Christians farther than they perceive the connexion, and evidently see that they are so; for their faith must not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power and veracity of God.

Alexander dedicated his life to the proclamation of the principles set forth in this document. Father and son found they had arrived at similar viewpoints and together sought a basis for Christian unity in a return to the New Testament..

In May, 1811, the "Christian Association of Washington" turned itself into the "Brush Run Church." After adult immersion was accepted following a careful study of the New Testament Scriptures, the church somewhat reluctantly accepted in 1813 an invitation to membership in the Redstone Baptist Association.

The year 1823 was a significant year for Alexander Camp-

bell: his congregation affiliated with the Mahoning Baptist Association in Ohio, a more liberal group responsive to his ideas; the paper *Christian Baptist* was launched in which a series on the "restoration of the ancient order of things" set forth the program of a restitution of the New Testament church; and Campbell's second debate was held, this time with McCalla, in which for the first time he gave a clear statement of the purpose of baptism as the remission of sins.

Walter Scott was sent out as evangelist by the Mahoning Association; he showed that the "Restoration Plea" could be preached effectively. Scott formulated the steps in the "plan of salvation" as an effective means of evangelization: he taught children as a "finger exercise" to repeat "faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, and gift of Holy Spirit" and had them go home to invite their parents to hear this preached. He made the "invitation" a regular feature at the close of his sermons.

By 1830 the large number of followers which Campbell had built up through his editorial efforts, debates, and preaching began to separate from or be expelled from the Baptist Associations. Points at issue with the Baptists included the relation of baptism to the forgiveness of sins, the authority of creeds, and the powers of associations of churches. The nature of faith and place of the Holy Spirit in conversion were also involved. In this year the Mahoning Association disbanded itself as unscriptural. This was also the year in which Campbell replaced the caustic, iconoclastic tone of his *Christian Baptist* with the positive statesmanship of a new journal, the *Millennial Harbinger*.

Campbell had met Stone in 1824. Their movements had a great deal in common. Especially through the labors of "Raccoon" John Smith and John T. Johnson the "Christians" and "Disciples" in Kentucky united in 1832. By the mid-1830's the basis for the future growth of this "Restoration Movement"

was laid and its basic doctrinal principles had been enunciated.

Later Developments

The formation of the American Christian Missionary Society in 1849 (at least partly as a result of Campbell's urging some form of cooperation between the churches), and the introduction of instrumental music into worship (first agitated about 1851 and opposed by Campbell) were major factors in introducing a split in the movement. The Disciples, however, did not divide during the Civil War as most churches did, but the war contributed to an alienation between northern and southern brethren and was one factor influencing a more conservative trend in the south and a more liberal trend in the north. The influence of the *Gospel Advocate* of David Lipscomb in the south opposing both the above innovations and of the *Christian Standard* of Isaac Errett in the north favoring both were important in giving a geographical factor to the division. For a while in some places a middle ground was held, of cooperation with the Society but opposition to the instrument, a position represented by J. W. McGarvey. This middle ground increasingly fell away, and the "statistical division" of 1906, in which the churches of Christ reported separate figures from the Christian Church to the Census Bureau, was but a recognition of the alienation which had been taking place over several years and the climax of a gradual process of separation.

Today the heirs of the Restoration Movement fall into three main classifications—the "Disciples" are the liberal wing supporting the International Convention; the independent "Christian Churches" are conservative in theology but use the instrument and favor voluntary conventions of churches; while the "churches of Christ" favor congregational independence and unaccompanied vocal music in worship.

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E. I. West, *The Search for the Ancient Order*. 2 Vols. Nashville: Gospel Advocate Co. Vol. I, Ch. 9, 11, 18; Vol. II. Churches of Christ.

Review Questions

1. Describe the "Republican Methodist" Church's beginning. What principles did they adopt?
2. For what is Elias Smith famous?
3. Describe the emphases of the Jones-Smith movement in New England.
4. What is the significance of the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery"?
5. What are the highlights of the history of the "Christian Connection"?
6. What is the significance of the "Declaration and Address"?
7. What are some of the significant events in Alexander Campbell's early religious development?
8. What were some of the points at issue between Campbell and the Baptists?
9. What issues have been divisive in the Restoration Movement?
10. Identify the three main branches of the Restoration Movement today.

Thought Questions

1. Why has the Restoration Movement not accomplished more than it has in achieving Christian unity? Which is more important—unity or "restoration"? Are both possible?
2. Which of the three main branches of the Restoration Movement stands on the original ground of the movement itself?

Lesson XII

NINETEENTH CENTURY CHALLENGES TO TRADITIONAL BIBLICAL FAITH

*"God's firm foundation stands, bearing this seal,
The Lord knows those who are His."*

Certainly other things were going on in the nineteenth century besides attacks on the Biblical faith. It was the great century of Protestant missions. It also marked the high point of Roman Catholic reactionism to the modern world (expressed dogmatically in the papal proclamation of the immaculate conception of Mary in 1854; the Syllabus of Errors of Pius IX in 1864; and the first Vatican Council's definition of papal infallibility in 1870).

However, the major changes in regard to the world position of Christianity and the principal factors in the present intellectual climate as it relates to Christianity are the result of certain developments which may be conveniently focused in the nineteenth century. We select four principal developments for study.

Biblical Criticism

One effect of rationalism (see Lesson VIII) was application of the same methods of literary criticism to the Scriptures that had been applied to other literature.

The culmination of nineteenth century Old Testament criticism came with JULIUS WELLHAUSEN'S (1844-1918) version of the documentary hypothesis. The five books of Moses were analyzed into "source" documents which Wellhausen arranged chronologically according to an "evolutionary" theory of the development of religions. The final editing of the Pentateuch (first five books of the OT) into its present form was dated in post-exilic (about 400 B. C.) times. Other OT books were similarly late dated. For most

people in this line of development the high point of Israelite religion was found expressed in the eighth century B. C. "prophets of righteousness" (Isaiah, Micah, Amos, Hosea).

Representative of nineteenth century New Testament criticism was F. C. BAUR (1792-1860), founder of the Tuebingen school of theology, whose presuppositions are still widely influential even though many of his conclusions have since been rejected. Baur found support in the philosophy of Hegel for his studies of early church history which pointed to rather late dates (2nd century) for most New Testament documents and thus a denial of their apostolic authorship.

Many sound principles of historical science have been brought into bad repute among Biblical believers because of the presuppositions of some who pioneered in employing these methods. Historical criticism has been a positive gain in freeing the Bible from creedal and traditional interpretations, and in aiding an understanding of its message in relation to its own time. Historical critics however have often left the impression that the whole task of Bible study is complete when the historical background has been determined, and so have seemed to "explain away" rather than explain the Biblical message. In particular, the failure to acknowledge the Biblical claim to supernaturalism has distorted the perspective of many such critics. Their methods thus turned out to be no more valid than the presuppositions of the people using them.

Liberal Theology

The most influential modern theologian, in method if not in content, has been FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER (1768-1834). From a Moravian background and influenced by the Enlightenment (see Lesson VIII), Schleiermacher sought to be a "modern man" with his mind and yet a Christian with his heart. For him the true basis of religion is in the feelings.

In itself religion is neither a body of doctrines nor a system of conduct, although both flow from religion. The basic religious feeling is absolute dependence. Christians are those who derive their God-consciousness from Jesus Christ. The task of Christian theology is to give a systematization of the religious experiences of the present generation of believers in Christ. Although the Bible has a certain authority as primary witness to Christ, the practical authority in each age is the collective experience of the church of that age.

ALBRECHT RITSCHL (1822-1889) was much influenced by Kant (see Lesson VIII). For him the Kingdom of God is to be understood in ethical terms. Historical investigation leads us to the earliest Christian community, which is "normative" by its proximity in time to Christ. The doctrines of justification and reconciliation provide the motive power for building the "kingdom of God" on earth in Ritschl's view.

Through the great church historian ADOLPH von HARNACK (1851-1930) and the theologian WILHELM HERRMANN (1846-1922) the teaching of Ritschl had much to do with the "Social Gospel" in Europe and formed one strand contributing to this movement in America. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH (1861-1918) was the leading theologian of the "Social Gospel" in America. According to this movement the very institutions of society—political, economic, and social—must be "Christianized" (often the approach was through legislation) in order to combat the organized expressions of sin. This reaction against typical Protestant individualism in religion and the "organized nature of evil" in modern society was the principal constructive expression of liberal theology. It reduced the "otherworldliness" of traditional Christianity to "this worldly" concerns.

Liberalism made a plea against dogmatism and the creedalism of orthodox Protestantism. It made an appeal to the original sources and made the life and teachings of Jesus the supreme standard for Christians. However its apologetic

thrust in the direction of accommodation to modern learning was destroyed by its own presuppositions which understood the person of Jesus in terms of its own ideals and not truly according to historical reality. The liberal, as he peered back through history, has been likened to a man peering down a well and seeing his own image reflected back from the bottom. Liberals also were not appreciative of the institutions of Christianity, unlike other Modernists who stayed loyal to their institutions while seeking to bring them into harmony with modern philosophical and scientific ideas.

Darwinian Evolution

CHARLES DARWIN's *Origin of Species* in 1859 and *Descent of Man* in 1871 undercut for many people the theological interpretation of nature which had been characteristic of Christian apologetics since the Deist controversy (Lesson VIII). Whereas apologists had long pointed to the adaptation of creatures to their environment as an evidence of creation, Darwin gave a completely naturalistic "explanation" of this phenomenon. The "survival of the fittest" through processes of natural selection in which creatures adapted to their environment survived and those not adapted perished, he pointed out, would give the same result as if an Intelligence had designed everything. In other words, chance instead of design was for Darwin the final cause of things. Evolution thus offered an alternative to theism, and in particular to the view of special creation.

The elements in the theory of evolution were (1) the concept of growth and development, (2) the hypothesis of uniformitarianism (no sudden changes) in nature, (3) a very long period of time during which evolutionary change might take place, and (4) the application of evolutionary concepts to biological growth. These were not new ideas, but Darwin brought them together in one generalized theory, amassed evidence in an impressive way for certain changes having ac-

tually taken place, and suggested a way of explaining how changes may come about—that of natural selection.

Some people saw the atheistic implications of Darwin's work and openly accepted the position of naturalism. Others who saw the same thing declared war on evolution in the interests of a literal interpretation of Genesis. Many religious people sought some form of compromise, such as theistic evolution, keeping the doctrine of the creator God but making peace with Darwin's claims by conceding "evolution" as the means by which God worked.

Today two of the principal problems to the theory of evolution are providing the mechanism by which evolutionary change has occurred, and accounting for the sudden emergence of new kinds of life at points where there are no transitional forms attested. The main points of conflict today concern the extent and limits of change in the various forms of life. Beyond these factual matters, the basic differences between believers and unbelievers about evolution are philosophical and not properly "scientific."

Freudian Psychology

SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939) developed psycho-analysis, which became a religion rather than a science for many in the twentieth century. Freud made some helpful discoveries about the subconscious, but the impact of his work was to explain away, psychologically, the soul and the idea of God. Nothing mysterious or non-rational was left. As his ideas were picked up by others he influenced theology in two respects: (1) guilt was explained as only a psychological phenomenon, (2) the image of the perfect man was presented in terms of adjustment. For some people the result of Freud's doctrines was the throwing off of moral restraints. For others it was preaching a merely psychological gospel of aiding man to good mental health.

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Review Questions

1. Identify Wellhausen and Baur.
2. What positive gains resulted from historical criticism? What has brought it under reproach in conservative circles?
3. Describe the theological method of Schleiermacher.
4. What was the contribution of Ritschl to liberal theology?
5. How is the "Social Gospel" related to theological liberalism?
6. What positive gains can you see in the liberal movement? What deficiencies?
7. What is the importance of Charles Darwin in the history of science?
8. What are the elements in the theory of evolution? What are problems faced by evolutionists?
9. What have been the main categories of reaction to Darwinian evolution?
10. How did Darwin's theory undercut the previous apologetic enterprise?
11. What has been the influence of Freud?

Thought Questions

1. Is Christianity commonly regarded as compatible with the intellectual environment of the modern world? Are the main points at issue between Christians and the secularists of our age matters of fact or of faith?
2. If the Liberal apologetic enterprise is unacceptable from a Biblical standpoint, what can be offered in its place to the modern world?
3. Is it sometimes true that helpful new insights and some good comes from movements of thought not inspired by Christianity or even opposed by it?
4. What do such conflicts as the evolutionary controversy tell us about our interpretation of the Bible?

Lesson XIII

SOME TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

"Today is the day of salvation"

The nearer one comes to his own times the more difficult it is to determine what will be significant for the future. Realizing the difficulty, we nonetheless mention some developments which are commonly suggested as important features in the contemporary world scene of Christendom.

Existentialism

The writings of the nineteenth century Danish philosopher SØREN KIERKEGAARD (1813-1855) became widely translated and appreciated only in the twentieth century. Kierkegaard called for a vital personal commitment as the essence of Christianity and launched a bitter attack against the Protestant state church. With an emphasis on personal (and often terrifying) freedom, existentialism has opposed philosophies of determinism. With its emphasis on the total man's involvement in decisions of ultimate concern it has also opposed rationalism, including the scientific approach. In its emphasis on the present moment of existence it has often opposed or minimized the historical aspects of Christianity.

Existentialism is a philosophical mood or attitude or posture toward life. As such it has been adopted by people of widely different convictions—Protestant, Catholic, Jew, atheist.

At certain points existentialism has come into conjunction with Neo-orthodoxy, as in the early writings of Barth (below). Its categories have for many people brought a renewed appreciation for the nature of Biblical faith and certain aspects of the Christian life. For others, it has been an approach to life destructive of traditional values. Since as a

philosophy it has to do with ways of looking at things, the content of different existentialists' thought, whether religious or irreligious, comes from other sources.

Neo-Orthodoxy

Existentialism was important in the early development of the thought of KARL BARTH (1886-). The first world war shattered the complacency of liberal theology (Lesson XII) in Europe. Barth's writings, beginning with his *Commentary on Romans* (1919), came as an explosive formulation of an alternative to both orthodoxy and liberalism. Barth kept the basic Biblical affirmations as understood by Reformed Protestantism about the nature of man, God, sin, and grace. He also accepted as valid the methods and conclusions of rational criticism. Barth's doctrine of revelation may be taken as a good introduction to his thought: God takes the very *human word* of the Bible and uses it as "the occasion of revelation" in a personal encounter with man. The Bible itself is fallible, but it may be used by God because it bears witness to God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is the *personal Word*; the Bible is the *written Word* pointing to him; preaching is the *proclaimed Word*, bringing men to an encounter of faith with Christ. Revelation is not contained in propositions or word statements, but is rather an encounter of God with man in a personal way. Hence, Barth does not say that the Bible is the word of God, but instead that the Bible becomes the word of God.

Many other theologians (such as Emil Brunner, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich) have been identified with a similar kind of emphasis: a recovery of appreciation for certain Biblical truths away from liberalism along with a full acceptance, however, of modern concepts in science and history. Differences between them in details are considerable. In general, they do not like (as is often the case with names given by others) the designation "Neo-Orthodoxy."

Most of the Reformed seminaries in Europe and many of those in America may be termed "Barthian" in their outlook. The present revival of interest in Biblical theology has had as one of its roots the impact made by Barth.

The Ecumenical Movement

Another recent stimulus to Biblical theology has come from the "Ecumenical Movement." This movement has been called the "great new fact of our time." It has captured the imagination and engaged the energies of a large part of the Protestant world. Its spirit has even made itself felt in Roman Catholicism (which has undergone a "renewal" and "up-dating" through the meeting of the Second Vatican Council beginning in 1962) and also Eastern Orthodoxy (various bodies of which have joined the World Council of Churches). "Free churches" have come to greater co-operation in the face of the new combinations of denominations. The ecumenical movement may very well be the most significant development in church history since the Protestant Reformation. To some extent the drawing together of the churches has been motivated by the realization of the harmful consequences of denominationalism and of the growing threat of secularism. Liberal theology minimized creedal differences and directed attention to the historical Jesus and early Christian preaching. On the other hand, the studies of doctrinal differences has brought many of the various bodies back to the Bible as common ground.

* * * * *
Ecu. M.

Significant dates in the ecumenical movement are the following:

1908—Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America formed (it became the National Council in 1950).
1910—World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, which many date as the real beginning of the world-wide ecumenical movement, resulted from the scandal which denominational divisions caused to mission work and began a continu-

ing cooperation which evolved into the International Missionary Council (1921).

1920—Lambeth Appeal was made by Anglican bishops.

1925—"Life and Work" Conference at Stockholm under Nathan Soderblom showed churches how they could cooperate in alleviating social ills.

1927—"Faith and Order Conference" at Lausanne, Switzerland, began the study of doctrinal differences separating various communions.

1937—The "Life an Work" and "Faith and Order" conferences voted to establish a fellowship of churches.

1948—World Council of Churches established at Amsterdam.

1961—At New Delhi the International Missionary Council united with the World Council of Churches and Eastern Orthodox churches were admitted to membership.

JOHN R. MOTT (1865-1955) has been known as the architect of the ecumenical movement. As national secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in the U. S. and Canada, director for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, founder of the World Student Christian Fellowship, and chairman of the International Missionary Conference, Mott recruited, trained, or influenced many who have had prominent roles in the ecumenical movement.

The area of cooperation between participating churches has steadily grown larger. The initial effort to understand one another has produced a certain "growing together," and many leaders feel that this is the chief benefit of "being together." In addition to co-operation in projects of mutual concern the ecumenical movement has manifested itself in mergers between churches of similar background, conversations directed toward wider mergers, and friendlier contacts with Catholicism.

Serious question has been raised, however, whether organizational union on a supra-denominational basis is the way to attain the Biblical unity.

The "Young Churches"

Closely correlated with the ecumenical movement has been the "coming of age" of the mission churches founded in Africa and Southeast Asia during the great era of Protestant missions in the nineteenth century. The first significant cooperation between denominations took place on the mission fields leading to the formation of the International Missionary Council, a significant forerunner of the whole ecumenical movement. The Church of South India (Anglican, Methodist, and South India United Church), formed in 1947, was an early example and pattern of Protestant merger. The newer independent churches on the mission fields have been impatient of denominational division and the western orientation of much of Christianity. They have sought new forms of expression for their faith and an identification with their native cultures. With the strong spirit of nationalism since the second world war these churches now occupy a strategic place in a critical period of world history.

Communism and Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe

One of the most important challenges faced by Christianity in the twentieth century has been the coming to power of Communist governments in eastern Europe and the existence of powerful Communist parties in the countries of western Europe. Eastern Orthodoxy and other churches have been placed under severe restrictions and have submitted to dangerous compromises in order to survive in Communist dominated countries. The long tradition of subservience by Eastern Orthodoxy to the civil power has left it without resources to resist domination by an anti-Christian power. Atheist propaganda in Russia has not destroyed faith, but the "faithful" are a minority "purified as by fire."

The Resurgence of Conservative Biblical Scholarship

After the "Fundamentalist" controversies of the early

twentieth century "Modernists" captured the denominational machinery, publishing houses, and educational institutions of the major Protestant denominations. Many defenders of a conservative Biblical faith were caught up in an attitude of "anti-intellectualism." A scholarly counterattack by evangelicals has now begun, however, which is slowly beginning to win back some of the ground lost in the major educational centers. The greatest vitality on the American religious scene continues to be demonstrated by evangelical churches.

In general Biblical studies and theology have become more conservative in the mid-twentieth century. As the study of the Bible sparked the Protestant Reformation, so the study of the Bible itself is today affecting some of the newer currents in religious life.

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Review Questions

1. Who is responsible for the modern development of the philosophy of Existentialism?
2. Give some account of the existentialist attitude.
3. What is meant by "Neo-Orthodoxy"?
4. Describe Karl Barth's attitude toward the Bible.
5. Trace the development of the Ecumenical Movement.
6. What are some current manifestations of the spirit of ecumenicity?
7. What is meant by the "Young Churches"?
8. What relation have they had to the ecumenical movement?
9. What is the most important problem facing Eastern Orthodox churches?
10. What signs of hope are there for a resurgence of Biblical centered Christianity in the modern world?

Thought Questions

1. What currents of modern thought or historical developments not discussed above do you think are significant on the current scene?
2. Why has religious thought been so much influenced by secular developments, scientific and philosophical, in the modern world?
3. How do you think New Testament Christians can effectively convey their message to the modern world and relate that message to the world's needs?
4. What can and should be our relation to the ecumenical movement? Do we have anything significant to say to this movement?

TIME CHART

<i>Dates (c. = circa = "about")</i>	<i>Secular Rulers</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Church Writers and Leaders</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Dates (c. = circa = "about")</i>	<i>Secular Rulers</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Church Writers and Leaders</i>	<i>Events</i>
54-68	Nero				296-373			Athanasius	
c. 81-96	Domitian				c. 330-390			The Three Cappadocians—Basil, and the 2 Gregories	
96			I Clement		379-395	Theodosius I			
c. 115			Ignatius of Antioch		381				Council of Constantinople
135-165				Valentinus constructed Gnostic doctrine	374-397			Ambrose, bishop of Milan	
144				Marcion disfellowshipped	386-407			Chrysostom's preaching	
155			Polycarp dies		342-420			Jerome	
c. 150			Justin Martyr		395-430			Augustine, bishop of Hippo	
c. 160				Montanist Movement	410				Sack of Rome by Visigoths
c. 180			Irenaeus		412-44				
189-199			Victor	Easter Controversy	431			Cyril, bishop of Alexandria	
190-230				Monarchian Controversy	440-461		Leo I		Council of Ephesus—fall of Nestorius
160-220			Tertullian		451				
185-215			Origen		451				Council of Chalcedon
217-222			Callistus	Schism of Hippolytus	496				Huns turned back
249-251	Decius				496	Clovis, king of Franks, converted			
251-253			Cornelius	Schism of Novatian	493-526				
253-260	Valerian				527-65	Theodoric Ostrogothic king of Italy			
258			Cyprian dies		529				
284-305	Diocletian				553			Benedict founds Monte Cassino	
306-337	Constantine			"Edict of Milan"					
313									
313-328									
325			Alexander, bishop of Alexandria	Council of Nicaea					Council of Constantinople II

Dates (c. = circa = "about")	Secular Rulers	Bishops of Rome	Church Writers and Leaders	Events
589				Council of Toledo (Conversion of Visigothic Spain to Roman Catholicism)
590-604		Gregory I		
570-632				Life of Mohammed
638				Jerusalem and Antioch fall to Islam
664				Acceptance of Roman Christianity in England
678-81		Agatho		
680-81				Council of Constantinople III
732				Islam turned back at battle of Tours
700-749		John of Damascus		
716-54				Mission of Boniface to Germany
787				
768-814	Charlemagne			Council of Nicaea II
800				Charlemagne crowned by Pope Leo III
858-867		Nicholas I		
910				Cluny Monastery
962-73	Otto I			
1049-1054		Leo IX		
1054				Break in communion of Eastern & Western Churches
1073-1085		Gregory VII		
1056-1106	Henry IV			

Dates (c. = circa = "about")	Secular Rulers	Bishops of Rome	Church Writers and Leaders	Events
1096				First Crusade
1122				Concordat of Worms
1033-1109			Anselm	
1079-1142			Abelard	
1090-1153			Bernard of Clairvaux	
1147				Second Crusade
1184				Waldensian Movement
1189				Third Crusade
1198-1216		Innocent III		Fourth Crusade
1202				Fourth Lateran Council
1215				
1208-18				Crusade against Albigenses
1170-1221			Dominic	
1181-1226			Francis of Assisi	
1232				Inquisition
1225-74			Thomas Aquinas	
1265-1308			Duns Scotus	
1291				Last Latin holdings in Holy Land lost
1265-1321			Dante	
1294-1303		Boniface VIII		
c. 1300-49			William of Occam	
1260-1327			Meister Eckhart	
c. 1300-49			William of Occam	

<i>Dates (c.=circa= "about")</i>	<i>Secular Rulers</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Church Writers and Leaders</i>	<i>Events</i>
1309-1377				"Babylonian Captivity of Papacy"
1320-1384			John Wycliff	
1373-1415			John Hus	
1414			Council of Constance	
c. 1450			Movable type printing	
1452-1498			Savonarola	
1463-1525	Elector Frederick the Wise			
1513-1521		Leo X		
1483-1546			Martin Luther	
1484-1531			Huldreich Zwingli	
1497-1560			Philip Melanchthon	
1496-1561			Menno Simons	
1500-1558	Emperor Charles V			
1516			Erasmus' Greek Testament	
1517			95 Theses	
1525			Beginning of Swiss Brethren	
1526			Tyndale's New Testament	
1530			Augsburg Confession	
1532-34			Church of England breaks with Pope	
1509-1564			John Calvin	
1534-1549		Paul III		

<i>Dates (c.=circa= "about")</i>	<i>Secular Rulers</i>	<i>Bishops of Rome</i>	<i>Church Writers and Leaders</i>	<i>Events</i>
1540				Jesuits founded
1545-1563				Council of Trent
1555				Peace of Augsburg
1539-1604			Faustus Socinus	
1553-1600			Richard Hooker	
1558-1603	Queen Elizabeth			
1560				Scottish Reformation
1580				Formula of Concord
1556-1598	Philip II			
1560-1609			Jacobus Arminius	
1619				Synod of Dort
1603-1625	James I			
1608				First Baptist Church
1620				Pilgrims to Plymouth
1625-1649	Charles I			
1643-1647				Westminster Assembly
1649-1658	Oliver Cromwell			
1632-1704			John Locke	
1635-1705			P. J. Spener	
1692-1752				Joseph Butler
1703-1758				Jonathan Edwards
1703-1791				John Wesley

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				<i>"about"</i>
1739-40				Great Awakening
1791				U. S. Constitution guarantees freedom of religion
1772-1844			B. W. Stone	
1780-1842			W. E. Channing	
1768-1834			Friedrich Schleiermacher	
1788-1866			Alexander Campbell	
1809				Declaration and Address
1813-1855			Soren Kierkegaard	
1832				Stone and Campbell's followers unite
1849				American Christian Missionary Society
1859				Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i>
1846-1878	Pius IX			
1870				Vatican I
1861-1918			Walter Rauschenbusch	
1886			Karl Barth	
1910				World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh
1948				World Council of Churches Amsterdam
1962				Vatican II